

THE TECHNIQUE OF PERSUASION

To My Mother

who must be held largely responsible for the author,
but not for anything that he has written.

THE TECHNIQUE OF PERSUASION

AN ESSAY IN HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS BY
IAN HARVEY



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FANFARE

*'Of Life immense in passion, pulse and power
Cheerful for freest action found under the laws divine.
The Modern Man I sing.'*

WALT WHITMAN

CHAPTER 1

The Proper Study of Mankind

ON THE AFTERNOON OF A NOVEMBER DAY THE President of the United States of America came forward and spoke to the assembled people at Gettysburg. He followed the three-hour speech of the Honourable Edward Everett, not a syllable of which is now familiar. Lincoln spoke for five minutes; in all five sentences. Whereas the speech of Mr. Everett has long faded into the obscurity to which so many high-flown utterances have rightly been relegated, the words of Lincoln remain to illuminate the world.

He said nothing new. He preached no revolution nor reform. With sincerity and a clear conviction he reaffirmed the faith of the American people.

Lincoln spoke with simplicity and consequently what he said has sunk deeply into the memory of many people.

Observers on the spot differ as to their views on the speaker and the effect that his words had on his audience. The *New York Times* indicated applause at a number of places; as no doubt our own *Times* would have done had it been present. The *Patriot and Union*, a sort of local *Daily Worker*, swung into the attack with that censorious arrogance which is the product of irresponsibility blended with ignorance. 'The President succeeded on this occasion because he acted without sense and without constraint in a panorama

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that was gotten up more for the benefit of his party than for the glory of the nation and the honour of the dead . . . we pass over the silly remarks of the President; for the credit of the nation we are willing that the veil of oblivion shall be dropped over them and that they shall no more be repeated or thought of.'

In spite of this scornful comment by the *Patriot and Union* upon whom the veil of oblivion has most effectively dropped, the words of the President have not been passed over elsewhere—nor have they come to be regarded as by any standards 'silly'.

Ending before most had realised that he had begun, Lincoln said:

'It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us; that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion; that we highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that the nation shall under God have a new birth of Freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth.'

In these last phrases Lincoln gave that general definition of democratic government which has been found to be most commonly acceptable. 'Government of the people, by the people, for the people.'

Lincoln sat down. To a friend he confided, 'That speech won't scour', and regretted that he had not taken more time over preparing it. What speaker has not had similar reactions, with much better reason. It is an odd thing that it is nearly always a good speech that leaves a sense of insufficiency with the speaker. Bad speeches, like idiot children, are often the pride of their creators.

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Lincoln went back to Washington and, his words passed into history. Not everyone shared the views of the *Patriot and Union* but probably few realised that they had listened to one of the great speeches of all time. Everett, to do him justice, possibly guessed. Lincoln himself undoubtedly did not. It would, however, be interesting to know for certain how far, and for how long, Lincoln calculated that speech. It seems highly improbable that it was, as some people think, a moment of instant genius. The night before we know he considered for a long time what he was to say. He must then have had to decide on the length and nature of his observations. The construction, the phrase, and the timing all seem to suggest that it was by no means a last-minute inspiration—although Lincoln would have had plenty of time for thought during the expatiations of Mr. Everett.

Whatever was the case the result was a lesson in speech-craft equalling the greatest utterances of the past, equalled since by very few, and amongst those few must rank the appeal of Mr. Winston Churchill after Dunkirk.

We who are viewing the situation from a distance can have no doubts as to the propriety and the brilliance of the 'Gettysburg Address'. But belonging as we do to an age which has had to endure many trials of strength and of faith we are more readily prompted to enquire, 'What exactly is meant by this definition of government of the people, by the people, for the people?'

At Gettysburg Lincoln was still inspired by the high purpose of those who within the memory of living

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men indeed had 'brought forth a new people'. He was not assailed by differing interpretations as to what was in fact democratic government. To a very large extent his was a local problem, though none the less significant for that reason.

To those listening there was nothing controversial about the matter contained in the President's speech. Judging by the number of glib repetitions that it has received it might still be regarded as unexceptionable. In fact there is not one part of it that is not now under fire and which does not require the most exacting examination.

To begin with, who are the people?

The Managing Director of an advertising agency in London had the whole of the wall opposite his desk taken up with a vast montage photograph of the beach of Southend to remind him continuously of those to whom he had to sell.

There were occasions when he was too 'Southend-conscious', possibly with intent, but I am sure in principle he was right.

Sir William Crawford, one of the great figures of advertising, once said, 'Go to see Football matches, not to see the football, but the people, and listen to what they say'.

He, too, was right, although I know he would have to admit that he himself went chiefly to support Chelsea.

It is very easy, and not unnatural, to think of people on these occasions as just a crowd and nothing more. As such they may be fellow-travellers in the way; or for the individual intent on some other

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activity no more than a mass of humanity getting in the way. According to the mood one laughs and jokes with them, one joins in their pleasures and in their annoyances, or alternatively one is indifferent to them or irritated by them.

These are the people.

Then there are sterner occasions. When the tide of political fervour is flowing. There are the banners, and the shouting, flushed faces and cloth caps—possibly sticks and stones, or occasionally the police truncheon. In less fortunate countries than ours, there are the barricades, the blood, violence, and shooting. Here the steam is harmlessly let off in Hyde Park.

In the solemn moments they are together. Hushed they stand about the Cenotaph in Whitehall, bare-headed they watch a dead King go on his way to Windsor. They assemble in the great cathedrals and gather in the little churches.

In moments of national exhilaration they rejoice. They stand before Buckingham Palace for hours to catch a glimpse of Royalty—they sing Auld Lang Syne in Piccadilly on New Year's Eve.

These are the people—on the whole cheerful, reasonable, tolerant people.

Yet each one is an individual—a living personality—flesh, blood and temperament—a father, son and brother—a sister or a mother. Each one is a factor in the structure of the community: mine worker, industrialist, bus-conductor, architect, soldier, sailor, airman, shop-girl, civil servant.

Each one has a life to live and each one must live it in conjunction with the other. Trotter has written:

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‘Man, be he never so individual, can never escape his biological fate of being a herd animal.’

Professor MacCurdy, commenting on this situation, adds:

‘The important thing to note is that the group dictates to the individual what he is to observe and how he is to interpret it, although he is unaware of the coercion.’

I have talked about people in crowds first because crowds illustrate crudely but clearly the statement that Trotter makes and they underline MacCurdy’s comment on it. Man is essentially gregarious and consequently he is subject in that capacity to mass emotion and mass action in the same way as he is subject to individual emotions and actions.

It is in his gregarious capacity that man becomes ‘the people’.

Now there are certain limits and qualifications placed on this term ‘the people’. The broadest of these is the limit of race; the narrowest is that of the clan or small community. We are here concerned with an intermediate and essentially the most practical unit, the one with which Lincoln was concerned, the nation.

I have always favoured Professor Hearnshaw’s definition of nationality as ‘That principle compounded of past traditions, present interests and future aspirations which gives to a people a sense of organic unity and separates it from the rest of mankind’.

Past traditions, present interests and future aspirations. Those are three very significant factors in studying mass psychology within the limits of the national community. The most significant and relevant point

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about them is that they are very potent factors in the lives of human beings.

Here we reach a conclusion which at first sight is elementary, but it is one which is consistently ignored by the very people who ought to take it continuously into account. The community is a personality. It is a complex personality made up of the individual personalities of those who form part of it. It is not a bloodless, fleshless, lifeless cohesion of blue-prints and plans. It cannot be altered or influenced merely by the cold stroke of a pen or by arithmetical calculations.

This is no discovery in the realms of medicine and the allied sciences. Freud, Adler and Jung have the world in their debt and that debt is being increasingly acknowledged by the world. The enlightened psychological handling of men during the last war and the treatment of nervous disorders bear witness to that.

We are, however, concerned here with the application of this knowledge to the community (by which we mean the nation) in its social and in its political life.

Lincoln's assertion poses three important questions. Who are the people? What is the meaning of 'Government for the people' and how is the proposition of 'Government by the people' achieved?

The answer to the first is that 'the people' in his context are the community. In order to reduce the enormous scope of the work to reasonable limits and because under present conditions it is the largest functional community, we have selected the nation as the basis for our study.

What they were, what they are and what they hope

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to be, which is another way of expressing Professor Hearnshaw's definition of nationality, also outlines in the simplest terms the framework within which the people operate.

Everything that the people do, or have done for them, takes these three conditions into account because all activity must have some regard for what has already happened—what is going on now—and what is intended next.

The difference between what individual people do instinctively or impulsively and what the mass of people have done for them is expressed politically in terms of government. Lincoln when he spoke of 'Government for the people' meant in the interests of the people, and there again he lighted on a very controversial point which has been much to the fore in twentieth-century politics.

Who decides what is in the interests of the people? The answer in the language of democracy is 'the people'. So the last two points in Lincoln's proposition must be taken together. 'For the people—by the people.'

It is at this moment that political theory and political mechanics come into conflict. It is easy enough for the political theorist to enunciate principles for the good government of man, and he has no hesitation in doing so. In practice these do not always work out, and it is one of those distressing conditions that some of the most high-minded political theories have resulted in activity of a very reverse order. While this is not the place for a controversy on that subject it is difficult to avoid instancing the League of Nations,

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a fine ideal turned to the very worst account. History may well record that the world war of 1939-45 was caused by the failure of idealists to have any regard for realism and the refusal of the realists to subscribe to any ideals.

In their failure to face realities the idealists of the inter-war period, like many of their predecessors—and like far too many of their present successors—failed to take account of that great factor which is the central subject of this book—‘Human Nature’.

We have already said that the community is personal, which means that its nature is a human nature. This is vastly significant when considering ‘Government for the People, by the People’. The handling of the human nature of the people individually and of the community as a whole is the key to all government. The hand that rests upon the control panel of the national emotions is the hand that governs. Lincoln himself acknowledged it when he said:

‘He who moulds public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions.’

Lincoln had not experienced the influence of Lenin, of Mussolini and of Goebbels. He did not foresee Jim Farley and he did not envisage Mr. Herbert Morrison.

When Lincoln spoke at Gettysburg, even though it was in the first flush of youthful American democratic spirit, the democracy that he conceived rested far more upon the conception of trusteeship. There were those who by their background and education were competent to govern and to them was entrusted the

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government, freely entrusted it is true, but nevertheless with that restriction that the conditions of the time automatically imposed.

In our century the conditions are very different. The basis of democratic society, in fact of all society, has been broadened with varying results. But the result common to all societies is that 'The people' as such are the fount of all power, and with the exception of those Governments which make use of armed force or imposed ignorance they must be consulted or at least most carefully considered.

Such a situation demands the institution of certain sanctions in arriving at government for the people, and mechanically it makes actual government by all the people an impossibility.

Democracy has solved the problem, or attempted to solve it, through a representative system under which the majority govern with the consent of the minority. The political theorist would say that this cannot be regarded as pure democracy. He would be right, but it certainly can be regarded as a workable proposition, which government by a mass of 50,000,000 individual people could not. It is the function of government to govern and government involves the production of workable propositions.

The totalitarian answer to the problem is far more simple. It is government by those who can grasp it, always of course in the 'name of the people'. It would be amusing if it were not so serious in its implication to note how often the phrase 'in the name of the people' is used by those who couldn't care less about them and how seldom by those who really do endeavour to

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govern with full regard to the interests and wishes of those they represent.

Whatever the public protestations, it is a fact that in the modern community those who would govern must pay close attention to the likes and dislikes of the people. In the democracies it is reasonable to claim that there is a sincere attempt on the part of the governing element to do this for the highest possible motives. In the case of the totalitarian there is no less an understanding but more for the purpose of controlling than of representing the people.

Out of all this has been developed the activity which in this book will be known as Persuasion.

The reason why the initial emphasis in such a treatise should be on political propaganda is that this is the age of politics. They govern every sphere of the life of the community. That is not the work of any particular political party or the result of any political tendency. It is a natural development.

Religious activity, social development, industry, the military forces, the arts, and leisure are all linked in varying degrees with the political network. Whether men like it or not, whether they are prepared to admit it or not, this is the age of the politician and politics pervade the whole structure of society.

With politics in so large a sphere must ride persuasion. The 'Technique of Persuasion' is the technique of handling people and of persuading them to conform to that pattern of life and society which their leaders and representatives, who are in the final count the political leaders and representatives, have evolved.

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In a democracy this process is based essentially upon free-will and broad education. Under the totalitarian it is fundamentally an opiate process designed to ensure blind obedience rather than to encourage enlightened co-operation.

Professor Bartlett, who has written in a few pages a profoundly interesting and objective study of the whole subject of political propaganda, has observed:

‘Whatever the inordinately rapid growth of propaganda may signify the main reasons for it are clear and certain enough. It springs fundamentally from the two closely related movements which are responsible for the complexities of modern civilisation: the increasingly effective contact of social groups and the rapid spread of social education.’

The increasingly effective contact of social groups has in effect strengthened the power of politics in the community. The rapid spread of social education has meant that people can no longer be told, they must be persuaded.

For these reasons the process of persuasion has entered into the life of the community, not only as a political instrument but as an integral part of all social and industrial activity. Like so many other processes, it has come into being in its various spheres almost unconsciously. The relationship of persuasion in politics to persuasion in industry, of leadership in war to leadership on the field of sport, the psychological basis of morale, the meaning of patriotism, all these are part of the process of persuasion. They spring from the natural sources of human nature but it is only of recent years that men have become conscious of their significance and of their place in society. It is

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this consciousness that has resulted in the growth of technique in advertising, and has given a name to the age-old process of 'public relations'. It has made the leaders in war realise that courage is not just 'blood and guts' and that training includes the mind as well as the body. Politically it has had its greatest influence and to a considerable degree its most sinister influence. This is only to be expected because politically it is concerned with power in all its aspects, and power makes its appeal to the most violent of all human emotions—ambition.

As a result of this development, pervading all spheres of human social activity, it is possible to detect and define a 'Technique'—which we will call hereafter the Technique of Persuasion. In certain of these spheres it will be seen that the technique is either undiscovered or practised unconsciously, often ineffectually. In others, and this applies particularly to advertising and public relations, a vast 'mumbo jumbo' has been evolved to conceal a number of elementary human processes and a good deal of horse-sense.

We now come face to face with a most alarming paradox. In the present century a struggle has developed between those who believe in the democratic way of life, whose aim it is to put the proposition of Lincoln into effect, and those who for one reason or another believe in what can most conveniently be called 'totalitarian' systems. Of these two contending parties the totalitarians as represented by the Fascists in Italy, the Nazis in Germany and the Communists in Russia and elsewhere have demonstrated the

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effectiveness of propaganda and have developed the technique of persuasion to the full. More for that very reason than any other the democratic elements have raised their hands in horror and denounced all forms of such activity which they choose to describe as attacks on free thought and culture. This is to mistake the means for the end.

In all forms of persuasion the criteria are firstly the subject and secondly the method. No one who has thought carefully about the matter can assert that any form of government can dispense with persuasion. Professor Leonard Doob argues rightly when he says that 'Propaganda is necessary as long as science has not solved the difficulties that confront us'. In many respects science would have appeared to have increased rather than solved our difficulties and it would follow therefore that propaganda, or persuasion, is even more necessary than ever.

Democracy is more in need of the technique of persuasion than the totalitarian state. The totalitarians have always that ultimate sanction of force with all the horrible machinations of the police state. Democracy depends on clear argument to hold it together. Assuming that the fullest rein is given to both sides of the argument, then the ultimate decision must be regarded as the nearest practical approach to a popular decision, which is, after all, government for the people by the people.

This assumes also the claim that democracy makes to provide a broad and objective system of education. The argument as to how far education must essentially be tinged with the point of view of the educators is as

complex as a system in which it is bound up, as to how far liberty can exist in an ordered society.

In both cases it is essential to accept as the only practical answer the solution of the general consensus. Provided that the opposition is always free to oppose, a balance will be maintained, and provided too that the opposition becomes, from time to time, the government, then that balance will be sustained over the years. That is the spirit of democracy and it is only when some elements endeavour to preserve theoretical democracy whilst ignoring that spirit that the democratic system is endangered.

Persuasion and the democratic system are therefore two compatible processes. In fact the democratic system under modern conditions cannot exist without it. Demanding the fullest co-operation of every member of the community democratic government must enlighten and persuade them. Democratic opposition is at liberty to put forward its counter-views and when these prevail then democratic opposition becomes democratic government. If for any reason democratic opposition fails to do this then the one-party state is likely to develop, and the one-party state is the happy hunting-ground of the totalitarian.

Under the totalitarians the role of persuasion is largely one of ensuring acclamation for acts of government before they occur and of stimulating the acclamations afterwards. As one would expect, it is a far more rigid process than democratic persuasion, although it is often more successful in achieving results until faced with heavy counter-persuasion with which it is not designed to deal.

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The comparative technique of propaganda in a democracy and under a totalitarian system of society provide one of the most important subjects with which we have to deal, and quite one of the most relevant at the present time. The point to be registered at this juncture is that in order to put Lincoln's definition into practice persuasion in all its forms is a fundamental necessity. If it is neglected or purposely disregarded then the market lies wide open to the more powerful salesman of the totalitarian. To deny that this is true is to deny human nature.

With that we return to that most fascinating of all studies which is at the root of our thesis, human nature. It is significant and symptomatic that there is no quality which endears a leader to his followers more firmly than the human touch. The lack of that touch, and that lack of human perception which goes with it, have similarly destroyed the chances of final success of leaders in every walk of life.

To a certain degree it is a matter of instinct and no one can learn instincts, but in so far as the human touch can be acquired, particularly by governments and institutions, it is a matter for acute and endless research.

Unquestionably the work of the psychologists, the psycho-analysts and the psychiatrists provides a basis of knowledge which is of great and increasing importance. There is a danger, however, that too great attention be paid to the abnormal at the expense of the normal. Abnormality has a certain excitement about it, which appeals considerably to young people and to those who are of a morbid turn of mind. It also

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appeals to those who find that they are, unable to measure up to normal standards. It is often the attribute of genius, but it can also be the mark of disguised inadequacy.

In the study of mass psychology it is the reactions of the normal person, particularly in association with his fellows, that matter. Upon that study rests the whole technique of persuasion.

Human nature is a variable and the conditions under which human nature operate are also variable. It is therefore a task of some difficulty to draw a constant line through the two. The fact that it has been done on numerous occasions, more particularly by our American cousins, is more a tribute to their intellectual abandon than to the accuracy of their findings. It is less impressive on paper, but wiser in practice, to set down certain generalisations, all of which are subject to considerable qualification.

The desire for food and drink, the sex desire and the desire to get on may be fairly safely classified as the chief human needs. The first three of these needs are natural needs, whereas the fourth, which from a social-political standpoint is the most important, has a deeper mental significance.

The Roman practice of 'bread and circuses' bears testimony to their understanding of the social significance of the first two desires. The fact that nearly every great occasion is marked by a dinner or a banquet is a simple indication of the same thing.

'Why don't they eat cake?' said Marie Antoinette when she was told that the people had no bread. Her head came off. Some of the most bitter moments of

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history have had their origin in the inability of those responsible to meet the elementary desires of the people for food and drink.

The influence of sex on society needs no enlargement nor a study of Havelock Ellis to emphasise its importance. When the control of societies rests in the hands of a small number of people this influence can be most dangerous; the antics of Madame Pompadour, the performance of the Du Barry, and the unwise counsels of the last Empress of Russia are examples of that.

Most important to our study is the desire 'to get on' which in its extreme form becomes megalomania and is at the root of numerous perversions and power complexes. In every sphere of society that desire makes itself felt. The history of our century has been one of conflicting desires to get on by the major nations. There is nothing unique about that. Every other century has the same story to tell. Where our story differs, and it differs in a way which concerns us here, is that the desire has been more widespread among the peoples concerned and has not been confined to the leaders.

In the March on Rome and subsequent events, in the National Socialist Revolution and the building of the Third Reich, there is no doubt at all that the great mass of the people were intimately concerned.

At the beginning of the 1939-45 war a ridiculous attempt was made by British Propagandists to divide the German and Italian peoples from their governments. This showed a strange lack of understanding of propaganda timing and it also indicated a completely false psychological assessment. The time to try to

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drive a wedge between a people and their leaders is when the leaders are failing—not when they are highly successful. The Italian followed Mussolini, the German followed Hitler, for the same reasons as the French followed Napoleon, for ‘La Gloire’, the desire to get on.

Now there is nothing basically wrong with the desire to get on, provided it is kept within reasonable bounds. In fact it is the basis of good team spirit and the origin of incentive, which ought to be regarded as the mainspring of a successful society.

The Socialists in this country have in the past identified team spirit and incentive with political megalomania with the result that they plan a country safe for mediocrity and consequently fit for no one to live in. It is a pathetic and paradoxical mistake to have made because the type of community that the Socialists envisage is one in which these qualities are fundamental to success.

After human needs come the human emotions, and the two are of course intrinsically linked. On this score Professor Bartlett has said:

‘About all those (emotions) all he (the propagandist) need be concerned with are pride and love on the positive side; hate and anger on the negative side and fear or anxiety somewhere in the middle; pride and love in the alleged history and achievements of his own group, hate and rage for the history of all or most other groups and fear or anxiety for all alleged interference by the second with the first.’

It is a bold generalisation, but it is difficult either to improve on it or to disprove it. It is borne out by any study of political propaganda during this century

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and particularly during the last world war of 1939-45.

It would be absurd to suggest that beyond these main desires and emotions there is little more to be considered. They are, however, of general and fundamental importance in any study which is concerned with the persuasion of people.

We are here face to face with a situation which it seems improbable was uppermost in Lincoln's mind when he spoke at Gettysburg. The slightly heroic conception of a free people governing itself must come down to the more complex but more practical conception of a people being persuaded by its leaders to believe that it is governing itself. That government must, however, rest in the hands of the leaders, and the technique of persuasion is to-day one of the most important attributes of leadership both in a democracy and under totalitarian systems of government.

Trotter's reference to 'herd-animals' must not for one moment be taken as a suggestion that people should be regarded as sheep and treated accordingly. Trotter would be the very last to suggest that. There are, it is perfectly true, times when people, either in crisis or as a result of the work of agitators, or under the stress of fear or danger, or extreme anger, behave like animals. That is when mob violence or mob panic occurs. These are fevered conditions which are not natural to the social body, but which have to be dealt with like any other illness when they do occur.

What Trotter underlines is man's gregariousness and that is of immense significance in the handling of society. It is that which justifies the basis of democratic

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government in so far as it is reasonable to assume that a very great number of people will be prepared by nature to accept as representative of their views the views of a few. The great danger is that it also makes totalitarian government easy once control has been gained of the instruments of persuasion.

It is reasonable to state that people as such are governed by certain main needs and emotions and that they can be relied on to hang together in their actions.

It remains now to see how far within a nation the people are liable to hang together in one mass and how far they split up into groups.

To a certain extent this is completely unpredictable, but there are certain conditions which will cause grouping, and the most important are the conditions of environment and interest.

Shakespeare was the most profound psychologist, but when he made Cassius say, 'The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars but in ourselves that we are underlings', he surely spoke as Cassius, not as Shakespeare. Environment plays a vital part in conditioning the minds and attitudes of people, and those who would change those attitudes must in most cases be prepared to change the environment. J. M. Barrie did not agree with this.

It is nonsense to say that a Glasgow slum-boy has the same chance to develop his life as the young Etonian. It is no answer to point to the exception—men who have risen above their environment to positions of authority. No good society can be based on exceptions. Moreover, in many cases the struggle to

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rise, while bringing its reward in financial gain and in power, leaves a mark on the character of the man which may ultimately harm society. Again, when men gain control of societies having had no education, or when they have had to fight every inch of the way, sometimes with great privation, the result is likely to be disastrous. Adolf Hitler is an example of one type of disaster, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald of another.

Environment is of two kinds, social and geographical. The first is changeable, the second not so except in degree. The ways of the city worker affect his outlook, his ideas of leisure and entertainment, his application of life in general. He tends to be more socially sophisticated—though not by any means wiser. In him gregariousness is far more highly developed as a rule than in the countryman, the highlander or the islander.

Social environment expresses itself to a considerable degree in 'class' divisions which may be marked or largely indistinct according to the community. The maintenance of a class system is not in the interests of a healthy democracy, but the interesting fact is that it is amongst the so-called working classes that class consciousness is most prevalent. This is an aspect of human nature that has escaped the egalitarian Socialist, but which is good capital for the more astute Communist. It is a form of social inversion which is dynamite in the hands of the propagandist.

Finally, the interests that weld groups together may be organic, or they may be artificial. Prime organic interests are sex, age, and to a lesser degree, temperamental constitutional habits. Artificial interests of the

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more permanent kind are religion, politics and occupation.

The general picture of the national society with which we are concerned is now complete. 'Government of the people, for the people, by the people.' The people means a mass of living humanity bound together as a nation by past traditions, present interests, and future aspirations. That community is an organism having desires and emotions conditioned by environment and interest. Those who would lead and govern people must understand this complex nature of the community, and in order to succeed they must understand also the Technique of Persuasion.

CHAPTER 2

Follow my Leader

'I'M THE KING OF THE CASTLE—AND YOU'RE THE dirty rascal'—shouts the small boy exultantly mounting the pile of sand. He may claim this proud position either because he is the biggest person there, because it has been built for him by a fond father, because he happens to be in possession of a menacing iron spade, or because he was nearest it at the time of its completion. More often than not he mounts it because he is the leader of the gang.

It is the same small boy that a little while before was the Indian Chief, or the Pirate King, and who in due course will be the captain of the Rounders team.

The position is his by right and the others acknowledge him. If they don't he will probably knock them down or continue to make life difficult in one of the number of ways of which only small boys are capable. Maybe they won't want to challenge him. They are quite happy to be the 'dirty rascals'. They find it convenient to be told what to do and they are placid in their obedience. The weaker brethren even accept without resistance the role of the captured slave, or the pale-face about to be scalped, or some even more ignominious and feminine position.

What sort of a small boy is this? This chap that the others will follow. He varies. He may be physically tough. Physical toughness and athletic prowess have

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a primary appeal for the young—because they are essentially primary qualities. But it is not these alone that give him the assertiveness that assures his commanding position. Essentially it is his personality—the outward and visible sign of his character—that gives him command. This personality may be attractive, and it is more often the attractive personality that holds sway amongst the very young—provided that the society in which they move is a normal and healthy one. It is sometimes the cunning and the guileful child that gains the upper hand. This is a situation that fills the hearts of parents and school teachers with alarm. Then there is the glamour of daring and the lure of naughtiness. ‘Dick Barton’ and the adventures of Richmal Crompton’s irresistible character, ‘William’, both testify to that appeal.

At the sand-castle stage the intellect plays only a comparatively small part in the child’s armoury of influence. The change comes at the age of adolescence and it is interesting to note how development varies. Only too often the physically superior child stands still and is overawed by the miserable Smith minor, the ‘sixth-form sap’ who suddenly shows signs of a completely unforeseen superiority and on several occasions succeeds in snubbing Buster major of the 1st XV to the great discomfort of that splendid personality.

The victory of intellect does not really come until the twenties. That is not to say that the day of the athlete is by any means over. It will go on, but it will be canalised. The ‘tasselled cap’ is no longer the emblem of undisputed social superiority. A ‘blue’ or

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an 'international blazer' are still distinctions, but they are no longer the ultimate achievement in life nor do they dictate the social strata in which men live.

For some, of course, they remain so, and it is pathetic to watch them with greying hair and sagging knees clutching wildly at the last straws of athletic greatness and covered in the dust of their more youthful successors rushing past. It has all the pathos of the croaking prima-donna on her last notes.

From the sand-castle to the seat in the Cabinet, to the Managing Director's desk, to the University Chair, or to any other Olympian height is a long journey and it's not always the King of the Castle that gets there, but often one of the very dirtiest rascals. For many there never have been any sand-castles, but only a pile on a slag heap, or a broken box in a back street. Their way has been hard, sometimes too hard for the going.

Nevertheless, the chances are that more Kings of the Castle succeed than dirty rascals, and the reason is that they are born with the attributes of leadership. Without these it is difficult for a man to maintain a position of authority.

Of these attributes the most important is the ability to continue to persuade others to go on playing the childhood game of 'Follow-my-leader'. How this is done depends upon the man, upon the situation, and upon the dirty rascals themselves. There is a power of difference between the methods employed to this end by Louis XIV, Napoleon, and Frederick the Great, and those used by Adolf Hitler, Peter the Great and Josefst Stalin. The difference which is of most import-

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ance to our present study is the difference between what we may term 'institutional' and 'instinctive' leadership. The creation of these two categories is slightly dangerous because it is quite possible for an institutional leader to be an instinctive leader, and in fact all the three that I have quoted, Louis XIV, Frederick the Great, and Peter the Great, certainly were. It would have been much harder for them to fail than the instinctive leaders, Napoleon, Adolf Hitler, and Josef Stalin, and they could all by virtue of their position have been leaders without any attributes of leadership whatsoever.

Institutional leadership tends to be condemned as being out of date by the progressive elements of our day, and it is true that institutional leaders are tending to pass from the scene. It would, however, be very unwise to dismiss them and all that they have stood for with an impatient or even obscene gesture. Institutional leadership, which is not only confined to the headship of communities, carries with it a certain calm assurance that is unaccompanied by blustering and bitterness. Moreover, it is a little paradoxical that men who profess themselves primarily concerned with the community, which is, after all, an institution, should dismiss the qualities of institutional leadership in so high-handed a way.

Already the apostles of the new orders have set about the building of a privileged class of officials to guard them in their new positions of authority. It is very questionable whether a privileged class of officials is any real advance on a privileged class of institutional leaders.

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Naked leadership is a process that cannot go on for any length of time. It is like winning the V.C., it is a swift movement. In the tingling hour of revolution, the troubled moments of crisis, in the flashing day of triumph the leader steps forth and grasps his position with both hands. To hold it he will need far more than one single act of personality.

The institutional leader does not need to concern himself personally with the problem in the same way as the true instinctive leader. He is backed by tradition and unless he makes a complete fool of himself or is thoroughly indiscreet he will be allowed to go on. If, of course, the pillars upon which his institutional leadership is based are knocked away then he will collapse and he will be able to do little about it. So went Louis XVI and the whole of the 'Ancien Régime' in France, so went Nicholas II and the Romanov order in Russia, so went Alfonso XIII in Spain. In many ways the institutional leader has been harder to dislodge than the instinctive leader, and the instinctive leader, with whom we are mainly concerned, will do well to study the attributes of institutional leadership, as in fact many have done and are doing.

The history of the first half of our century has been mainly one of stress and violence and of change. The impact of the Soviet Revolution has had all and more of the significance that the French Revolution had on the nineteenth century. The National Socialist Revolution in Germany, which was by no means a counter-revolution, but which made full use of left wing thought and tendencies, ended by disrupting for a second time the peace of the world and upset the

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political structure and economics of all Central Europe. These two events and their sequels have launched a political and social development which has not yet reached a stage at which its results can be judged. The first generation is still with us, with the exception of those who have been forcibly removed by war and other methods, and we, the second, cannot yet see their work in perspective.

What is clear, however, is that a new order of leadership has arisen in the world which has tended in nearly every case to displace institutional leadership throughout the whole of society. In some cases the transition has been very violent, in others it has been the result of the second world war, and in a few it has been an evolutionary change. The question, which is of absorbing interest to us, is how will the new leaders retain their leadership once the initial fervour of revolution or change is over.

It was said of Napoleon III that his was the tragedy of the 'arriviste who arrived'. It might also have been said of Napoleon I that he arrived at the right moment and stayed too long. It seems more than probable that had Napoleon I come forward only five years earlier he would have gone straight to the guillotine. His attempt at addressing the General Assembly in 1795 ranks as one of the most ludicrous utterances by a would-be leader. Yet he succeeded in the first place because he was what France wanted. His aims and those of the nation were flowing in the same direction. He wanted 'La Gloire'—so did France. He was a man of decision—France wanted decisions. He came to power through his army and because he understood

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his soldiers. The minute he failed to give France what it wanted, the minute he was defeated in battle, he was finished.

It would be churlish and ill-informed to dismiss the achievement of Napoleon as merely the success and ultimate failure of a great soldier. He did far more for France than that. The basis of his success was, however, his military genius. He conceived himself to be the first soldier of the Revolution, and as such he painted himself to his troops, and through them to France. In modern language he would have been called a military dictator. He identified himself at all times with that legend and with the national aspirations of his people. The transition from first Consul to Emperor is a most fascinating study, and it shows the Revolutionary leader realising the necessity for something more stable than his own personality to hold his position. So he brought back the crown—he founded a dynasty, he placed his ridiculous and vulgar family on the thrones of Europe. That was a mistake and his mother knew it. He created his Marshals and his golden eagles soared over France and her conquered neighbours. Here was a fine soldier of the Revolution.

Somewhat more than a century later his example was followed under somewhat different conditions by another corporal, Adolf Hitler. In many ways the career of Hitler was a more preconceived process than that of Napoleon who began as a soldier and ended by chance as an Emperor. Hitler was always a politician with a politician's goal in view. Both began with a welter of revolutionary protestations, both reached the

height of their careers amidst the trappings of splendour that no monarch ever rivalled. Hitler, too, had his marshals, his uniforms and his eagles. He had not, as far as we can determine, the same dynastic idea as Napoleon, partly because he knew his relations would not fit in with the scheme of things and partly because he preferred normally to keep quiet about his family, such as he possessed.

Hitler differed fundamentally from Napoleon in that he was a mob-orator and depended on his own ability to control his audiences. Like Napoleon he succeeded because he eventually arrived at the moment when he was needed. His aims and those of Germany flowed along the same course. On the occasion of his first arrival in 1923 they did not and the result was a period, a very valuable period for him, of heel-cooling in Landsberg prison. There he wrote before his career what Napoleon strove to write after it—the legend of his leadership.

It is an over-simplification to say that the success of both Napoleon and Hitler was due to the fact that they were the men that the moment demanded. It is more just to say that they realised what the moment required and were able to give it. Other men around them also attempted to do the same but they failed. Success in both cases was due first of all to the personality of the men themselves, which expressed itself in power of leadership over their followers, secondly to their ability to sum up their fellow men and to choose the right subordinates, and thirdly to their judgment of the major issues and trends of the hour. Both were possessed of dynamic energy and the

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unswerving determination to seize power and to hold it.

So much for the leaders—what of the men they led? In the case of Napoleon it was primarily the army. To them he was the little corporal who began by being one of them, who was capable of behaving like one of them, especially at table. He understood them perfectly, he knew their temperament, he knew what they wanted, and he gave it to them. France had had a Revolution, an old order had gone down, but not the old love of colour and of pomp which was essentially French. For a time the dreary Girondists, and then the sordid Jacobins, had obscured it all. The insipid Directory was by no means in tune with the spirit of France. Napoleon set out to bring glamour to the Revolution and out of it he built an Empire. In that task he could count on the support of the vital and temperamental French for the mass of whom Mirabeau meant less than nothing at all.

It was a gigantic exhibition of bread and circuses and for a time it came off. It was an appeal to national ambition through the slogan of 'Liberté, Fraternité, Egalité', and it succeeded. The minute there were no more circuses and not enough bread, and only frost-bitten soldiers in Russia, and finally the mud and blood and misery at Waterloo, it was all over. Napoleonic Imperialism had no basic philosophy, no system of society beyond Napoleon. That was why it could not last, that was why Napoleon III should never have arrived.

The Hitler story is different. Germany in 1933 was, to begin with, far more conscious of political develop-

ment than France in 1795. The German people were, moreover, not filled with the zest to spread their revolutionary ideas throughout the world. At that moment what they wanted was not so much 'La Gloire', but to recover their self-respect. Hitler knew that. He knew, too, that when the masses despair they will surrender the determination of their destiny to anyone who will give them a strong lead. Finally he saw that the dithering conduct of the Weimar Republic had made the road of the unifixer an easy one.

He appealed to self-respect by denouncing Versailles, he appealed to unity by creating the two great enemies Jewry and Bolshevism. When he had gone far enough along the path he appealed to ambition, and with a shout the nation rallied to him—'Ein Reich, Ein Volk, Ein Führer'. National Socialism, in fact, a creed that was put together in action, was added whenever it was needed to cover an immediate aim. It was a grandiose piece of opportunism veiled in bogus political philosophy—but it worked in the Germany of Adolf Hitler because Adolf Hitler understood his Germans. In 1932 he stood up and cried, 'I come before the nation as its first soldier'. The answering roar was enough to convince the world that his nation would march behind him—and it did.

Quite a different technique from that of Napoleon and Hitler was used by the man who must be regarded as having had so far the greatest influence of any single person upon the twentieth century, Lenin.

For those who disagree with the aims of all three, Lenin is a far more dangerous proposition than either Napoleon or Hitler. Whereas they identified a cause

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with themselves, Lenin identified himself with a cause. Napoleon is dead. All that is left of him, with the exception of a legal system, is in Les Invalides. Hitler is dead, and it is improbable that National Socialism as such will ever exist again. Lenin is dead, but Communism rolls on.

The writings and the utterances of the revolution of 1916 were of world-shaking importance. There was nothing spontaneous, nothing impromptu about them. They were the calmly calculated manifesto of the man who had it in him to alter the course of the history of a tremendous nation—through that nation a continent—and through that continent a world.

Lenin was a master of the art or profession of revolution. He knew exactly what he was about and he knew the people with whom he was dealing. He was far more than any of the Tsars, the little father of all the Russians.

When he died the Federal Soviet Congress issued this resounding Declaration:

‘Lenin is dead. But Lenin lives on in millions of hearts, lives in the great union of workers, peasants, proletariat and oppressed nations; lives in the collective intelligence of the Communist Party; lives in the workers’ dictatorship which he erected solid and menacing on the boundary of Europe and Asia. (*Oh their prophetic souls!*)

Before the mighty ones of this world he flung the simple and madly daring slogan “All power to the Soviets”.’

What an epitaph, and, unlike so many adulatory epitaphs, how true. In the light of its truth it is remarkable that, so far as one is able to judge, there has not been that adverse reaction to the memory of

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Lenin within Russia that the experience of history would lead one normally to expect. The secret of this lies in the fact that the present leaders of Russia, understanding the sentimental characteristics of the people under their control have created the 'Lenin legend' foreshadowed in the Declaration of the Federal Soviet Congress. So Lenin dead is, if anything, more powerful than Lenin living. There is an aura around Lenin's tomb that gives to the annual May Day parade in front of it an almost sacred significance.

The closing years of the life of Lenin are profoundly interesting in that they mark the struggle for power between Stalin and Trotsky. The victory of the former was assured very nearly from the first because he was a practical revolutionary whereas Trotsky was essentially an idealist.

Mr. Walter Duranty, writing on the U.S.S.R., compares the two personalities thus:

'Trotsky was brilliant in word and action, gifted with intuition, adept in the art of popularity, quick to seize an opportunity but self-centred and intellectually arrogant. Stalin was slower-minded, forced to plod where Trotsky leapt, no less ambitious than the other but willing to submerge himself and wait. His essential quality is persistence, combined with a keen sense of the psychological moment. In those days at least and for many years afterwards he never pushed himself forward, preferring to pull strings from behind the scenes, but he never lost sight of his purpose.'

Trotsky was intellectually the obvious successor to Lenin, but when the time came for succession Stalin was the man that Russia needed. The first flush of Bolshevik leadership was over; more stolid but practical methods were required to consolidate and build

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up the Soviet Union. These were the methods of Stalin, who realised that it was more important to be the Secretary of a great Party than the brilliant intellectual spirit of a movement.

The victory of Stalin is significant in that it marked the change in character of revolutionary leadership. Stalin was in a sense the Napoleonic figure following the Jacobin spirit of Lenin, with the very obvious difference that whereas the aims of the Jacobins and Napoleon were not the same, those of Lenin and Stalin were. The difference between Lenin and Stalin was one of method.

Stalin realised that to continue to persuade the Russian people to support the Soviet Union he must consolidate internally, he must create a 'firm base' for future operations, and for that he needed a highly efficient and intricate organisation. This he proceeded to build up, with what success the resistance presented to the German onslaught bore a full tribute.

Lenin as a leader had all the advantages of a messianic position, which to a great extent Adolf Hitler had too, Stalin's problem was that of the successor. As such he wisely agreed to differ. Trotsky would not have done so and the probability is that Trotsky would have failed. Lenin said of Stalin: 'He is a rough fellow whose ambition may cause a split in the party.' It is much more likely that the intellectual arrogance and idealist outlook of Trotsky would have caused a split of more far-reaching consequence than any subsequently created by Stalin.

This brief study of the leadership of the Soviet Union is a pointer towards all similar social and political

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developments. It is impossible to carry out a successful Revolution and to go on being a successful revolutionary. General Franco and Marshal Tito both bear evidence on that score. Revolution itself is an act of naked leadership—the leadership that follows requires more than an exhibition of personality. The movement that sweeps away an existing social order is under an obligation to produce an alternative. Failure to do this will mean its own failure. In the production of this alternative it must first consolidate and then develop its position. This requires a highly organised central force and a propaganda machine radiating throughout the whole community.

We come face to face now with the deep-rooted fear of ‘propaganda’ displayed by so many people who know so little about it. In its simplest form propaganda is merely the propagation of a point of view. Morally, it is therefore the point of view, not the propagation, that is fundamentally important. It is true that under the Fascist régimes in Italy and Germany, and under the first Communist régime in the Soviet Union, methods of ‘propagation’ have been adopted that have been far from desirable. This has given propaganda its bad name. ‘Propaganda is a good word gone wrong’ has been the apt verdict of an American writer.

With the spread of education and the growth of political and social consciousness amongst the mass of the people, the importance of propaganda and its related processes—publicity, advertising, and public relations has grown to very considerable proportions. This is a fact that has been fully realised by the

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totalitarian leaders, but to a far lesser extent by those responsible for the conduct of life in the democracies. This has been wrongly ascribed by the democratic critics of propaganda to the fact that the cultural achievements of the democracies have raised them to a level at which they are immune from such pernicious activities.

It would be a more faithful analysis to conclude that the road of the democracies has been smoother than that of the totalitarians and that consequently the significance of the growth of this science has not been appreciated so acutely, either by the leaders or the led.

So far we have concerned ourselves with the revolutionaries and the men of change, because it is under conditions of change and of revolution that the qualities of leadership are most forcefully outlined, and we have begun to conclude that after the first acts of naked leadership a more sustained process of control is needed. One of the most important factors in this process we have seen to be the technique of persuading others to follow a cause over a period of time.

This factor is present, and is no less important in the case of those leaders who have not had to cope with violent change, who have assumed their positions with relative calm and who have escaped the barricade, the bullets, and the blood. Two men in particular spring to the mind—Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Winston Spencer Churchill.

American politics are a puzzle to all those who are not citizens of the United States, and there are often

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occasions when one wonders if they too are not slightly mystified. They do not, however, seem to have mystified Franklin Roosevelt, one of the most astute politicians of the twentieth century.

Called to be the first Executive of the United States of America at a time of economic crisis, he pursued his course through twelve intensely difficult years, and, breaking all precedent, he entered a fourth term, having successfully contested the issue against a man of not inconsiderable ability and reputation—Thomas E. Dewey. Not the least tribute to Franklin Roosevelt was the fact that he had also to contend throughout with physical infirmity.

The position of the President of the United States is politically a very difficult one. He is at once head of the State and a party man. He is elected in person by the decision of the entire American nation. His path to the White House is strewn with political missiles, and he has first to become the nominee of his party under circumstances which are seldom conducive to mild or non-controversial activity.

As head of the State he is head of a community of vast proportions with widely varying interests and composed of different races. The problem of fulfilling such a role with success is enormous because it is the problem of combining the role of a figure-head with that of a dynamic leader, both under clearly defined constitutional rules.

The leader of the British Government is not the head of the State and he is thereby able to conduct himself far more freely as a partisan of any particular point of view or policy. He is, however, thus deprived

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of many of those attributes of institutional leadership which have proved of great assistance to the President of the United States.

Any comparison between the achievements of Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill must always be made in the light of this difference in the respective offices that they held.

The most significant point about the leadership of each is that it was always difficult to envisage an alternative. The two names were, in fact, an integral part of the war effort. So much so that Goebbels records that Hitler really believed that with Roosevelt dead the Americans already across the Rhine might well fail.

Yet circumstances decreed that when the war actually did end neither Churchill nor Roosevelt were in their places. There instead were a Mr. Truman and a Mr. Attlee.

Before death intervened Roosevelt had, however, disposed of his most serious rival. When it came to Mr. Churchill's turn he was defeated, not by the personality of Mr. Attlee, but by something much stronger. He was defeated by a force which he had not had the time, and his supporters not the inclination; to study. He was defeated by political propaganda, and by the general exercise of the technique of persuasion by the Socialist movement.

Historians may well decide that the British General Election of 1945 must rank as one of the most important political events of this century. It marked primarily the transfer of power in fact, as opposed to theory, to the mass of the people. This was not due,

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as some politicians would have us believe, to the untiring efforts of one party. It was due to the natural development of democracy in Britain. One party, however, was astute enough to realise the course of that development and to shift the credit for it on to its own shoulders—just at the right moment. More important, it realised that under the conditions that had developed, old methods of political warfare were out. It saw that the age of the hustings was over, that political stunts were rightly *déclassé*, and that politics had entered the lives of many thousands who had never given them a thought in the past.

Ten years had gone by since the last General Election—ten stormy years spent in fighting and preparing to fight. A new generation of voters had arisen, an old generation had been disfranchised by the grave. Who was to appeal to this new generation? How was that appeal to be made? When was the appeal to start?

Mr. Churchill believed, and his party supported his belief, that his own war record and his own personality would carry the day. And so they sallied forth without any considerable preparation to do battle with the picture of their leader as their banner and the slogan, 'Help him finish the job', as their battle cry. They came back defeated—and it was not a little defeat. Churchill and the past were not enough, the people wanted a plan and a future, and they wanted it, amongst other reasons, because Socialist propaganda had told them that that was what they ought to want.

In 1950 the people had begun to have second thoughts. The overwhelming Socialist mandate disappeared during the course of a February afternoon.

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And the reason for this was that the Socialist party had over-estimated the strength of that mandate, they really had been taken in by their own propaganda. They were so obsessed with the technique of arriving that they overlooked the necessity for learning how to stay.

We are not concerned with the conflicting political ideas involved in 1910 and 1915. We are, however, very much concerned with two clear conclusions.

The first is that isolated personal leadership cannot sustain itself unassisted for any great length of time, and certainly not when crisis is over and normal conditions apply. The second is that when a people has become conscious of political issues and of its own position as an electorate, it is impossible to gain power and to hold it without organisation and propaganda. These two, propaganda and organisation, are indivisible, either without the other must eventually prove ineffectual. Both are means to an end—leadership—and leadership is power.

The victory of the Socialists in 1915 proves both these points.

‘As London is to Paddington
Pitt is to Addington.’

No serious offence is intended to Mr. Atlee by this quotation, nor should British Railways become too agitated, but the aptness of it is inescapable. Mr. Churchill wrote history in the grand manner from 1910 onwards, one suspects that history will have some difficulty in writing about Mr. Attlee. Yet Mr. Attlee ousted Mr. Churchill, but not because he was

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Mr. Attlee, but because he was the head of an organisation which had gained the support of the majority of the people of Britain. He was undistinguished in 1915 when he came to power. After five years as Prime Minister he has remained unchanged. From 1910 to 1915 Britain had Mr. Churchill, who was also Prime Minister. Since then she has had a Prime Minister Mr. Attlee.

Mr. Attlee's continued existence as Prime Minister is a tribute to the theory of institutional government. The fact that he has never emerged from his own shadow is a criticism not so much of his personal defects, but of those whose business it is to promote him in the eyes of the people. When one realises that the man chiefly responsible for his party's propaganda is Mr. Herbert Morrison, then one understands why Mr. Attlee is still in shadow.

One also understands how the Socialists retained power with such success after 1915. Mr. Herbert Morrison is without question one of the most astute 'politicians' of our day. He has the instinct of Goebbels and the technique of Jim Farley. He understands political propaganda and its relationship to organisation. His party owes him a great debt—but the party being what it is he is unlikely to be paid.

Mr. Morrison has succeeded because he has never allowed himself to forget his public or, more properly, his party's public. He realises that the essential thing is to 'click' in the public mind.

Now what is it that makes men 'click'? The simple answer to that question is the way in which they put themselves across—or are in fact put across. The same

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answer applies to institutions and to causes, and great institutions and causes are greater than individuals—that is why leaders have chosen to associate themselves with institutions and causes from which they can draw greater strength. That is why Mr. Attlee as the figure-head of the Socialist movement was able to defeat Mr. Winston Churchill the man. That is the reason for Napoleon's Marshals and Adolf Hitler's Reich-marshals. It is also the reason for the strongly accepted position of the President of the United States of America and of the King of England.

Men follow leaders because they have faith in them. That faith depends on the character of the leader and the way in which he portrays it. Men also follow leaders because they identify them with a cause in which they believe. Men believe in causes because they are persuaded that their spiritual and or material interests and those espoused by the cause are one—in fact, because they have faith and are sympathetic.

The creation of this sympathy on the part of men for causes is the first task of all propaganda. In the community in which we live to-day these causes are many and various, and they go to make up the mechanism of our communal life. That mechanism is largely controlled by the political mainspring and so we have begun by studying political leadership. The other parts are no less important because their breakdown or dislocation must mean that the whole machine will falter and come to a standstill. In fact, the present tendency to centralise and co-ordinate has made any such breakdown or dislocation far more serious and immediate in its consequences.

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It is essential, therefore, that men should have sympathy for these causes. Primarily for the community itself, for their political party, the organisation in which they work, or the military service to which they belong. That is the responsibility of the leaders in the various communities. Unless those leaders understand the technique of persuasion they will not succeed. If they fail they will give place to new leaders who have taken the trouble to understand.

CHAPTER 3

Control Panel

POWER IS AT THE ROOT OF THE WHOLE MATTER. It is the energy that drives the social dynamo. How it drives it is largely a question of organisation, and insolubly linked with organisation is the process of persuasion in all its various forms.

This proposition will cause consternation in the hearts of those who think of power in terms of marching men, thundering tanks and roaring fleets of aeroplanes, and there is no argument that will disprove that these are in fact signs and symbols of power, of a certain kind.

The most objectionable exercise of Power is that which employs force and violence. This involves the subordination of men's wills and lives to an absolute degree, which may, and often does, lead to their extinction. This finds its expression in what we have come to call totalitarian government, or more simply in tyranny and despotism. Almost inseparable attributes of this form of power are war and revolution.

Over against this is the exercise of power which promotes law and order and which maintains a peaceful community in which men are free to develop themselves according to their abilities. Such a community does not just exist because it is not in the nature of communities merely to exist. It is conceived, planned and organised by the leaders with the approbation of

the rest. That means that the leaders must have power.

The main difference between these two types of communities is that under the totalitarian régime the leaders direct and order with the continuous sanction of force; in the free communities they control and supervise with the agreement of the majority and with the acceptance of the rest.

In both types of community and in those which fall in varying degrees between them—the proposition of power, organisation, and persuasion applies, but in a different ratio.

In the totalitarian community power is valued for its own sake, it is in effect a commodity of life. The possessor of power is the man who matters. A more serious aspect is the subordination of everything that normally makes life pleasant, dignified and beautiful to the purposes of power. Art, music, culture, and worst of all, education, generally become the instruments of the power machine which exists primarily for the sake of itself and those that control it. Organisation therefore plays a vital part in such a community because without it men cannot be regimented and power over them cannot be maintained.

The role of persuasion under these conditions is simple. It becomes 'state propaganda', to all intents and purposes self-admitted. It is used to enforce and augment the decisions of the power machine. It is the 'cheer-leader', the universal 'yes-machine' of the bosses. It has little to fear from internal competition. It is not argued with because it exists in jolly camaraderie with the concentration camp, the firing squad

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and the secret police. It pervades, unprevented, every sphere of communal life.

Nevertheless it has to be good, because it can do an enormous amount to make life easier for the power men. It is the great purveyor of bread and circuses. It is the oil for the state machine. If it fails to impress then the bullets and bayonets have to get busy, and eventually the bullets may run out and the bayonets may be blunted.

In the free community the task of persuasion is more complex. Although it may have government sponsorship, it has no monopoly of appeal. It is open to criticism and contradiction, and it gets it. It has no protecting sanction of force, and it is not officially permitted to use, or more properly abuse, the influence of education, the pulpit, or the arts.

This is in keeping with the nature of a free society in which power flows upward because it is vested in the people and is exercised on their behalf by their leaders. All organisation is therefore designed with this fact in mind.

It is clear, therefore, that in many ways persuasion is of greater importance in a free society than in a totalitarian one, because in a free society organisation and power depend on the influence of persuasion; in a totalitarian state power is exercised through an organisation of force assisted by state propaganda. It is somewhat paradoxical—and not a little disturbing—therefore, to find that persuasion is regarded in the democratic and free societies as an occupation reserved for 'Fascist beasts'.

This is a matter of ends and means, not of ends



Sir William Crawford, K.B.E.
'Domination, Concentration, Repetition'



Reproduced by permission of Messrs Geo. Allen & Unwin, Ltd.

Here was a fine soldier of the Revolution

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justifying means, but of the same means being employed in different ways to achieve different ends. Leaving aside the methods of force and violence, which have no part in this study, it is true to say that the instruments of persuasion are common to all forms of society. It is the purposes for which they are used and the ways in which they are used that differ. Once this is accepted it is possible to study the whole subject objectively.

The most powerful instrument of persuasion has been throughout history, and will always remain, the human voice—and the art of speech. The reason for this is not difficult to deduce. Persuasion is the process of persuading men to take certain actions, in this context it is the process of persuading men in the mass to take collective action. This involves, as we shall come to realise, the establishment of a sympathy between the persuader and the would-be persuaded which is based upon human contact. The three great forces of human contact are the lips, the eyes and the ears. The strongest of these is the contact between the lips and the ears, and upon this contact rests the technique of persuasion. This is in no way to underrate the power of visual contact, but as an instrument of mass persuasion it is less effective, certainly when used alone.

Speech can carry with it the personality of the speaker, clearly and unmistakably. It can play upon the emotions of an audience as a conductor calls forth the power of a great orchestra—elating and depressing—now rousing—now soothing. Speech is its own interpreter. For those who listen there is unlikely to be

misunderstanding or misinterpretation, assuming that the speaker knows what he is doing.

The power of speech rests upon three qualities, the speaker, presentation of the text, the reaction of the audience. A man can learn to become a competent speaker, but he cannot learn to be a great orator if it is not in his blood, any more than a musician can learn to become a Beethoven. That does not mean that a born orator speaks as such the moment he opens his mouth in public. He will only perfect his style, his touch and his phrase with constant practice, and if he does not speak often and under every condition he will never achieve perfection.

There are, moreover, different conditions of oratory. Many distinguished barristers have found disillusionment on the floor of the House of Commons. It is true, too, that many successful Parliamentarians are unutterable bores after dinner and quite useless on a soap box. Some speakers are able to master every contingency, and with equal success, but the gift is rare.

The personality of speech is not always apparent in normal conversation. Some most talented and enthralling speaking could be written off as dreary and unimpressive on first, or even frequent, acquaintance.

This personality of speech lies in the power to make speech human. It depends, like human personality, upon light and shade, and upon the power to impress itself upon others. In the speaker this is a combination of expression, of tone, of gesture, and of emotion. In the speech it is a currency of phrase combined with a language 'understood of the people'. In the audience

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it is simply and solely agreement, which means sympathy.

Rom Landau, in an interesting passage, describes a speech by Benito Mussolini.

‘His expression was extremely serious, with a frown darkening the vast dome of his forehead. He kept his eyes fixed upon the crowd, and remained in this attitude for well over a minute. But at the end of that time the silence, and also the head, became almost tangible.

Then he flung up his right arm.

“Figli di Giulio Cesare!” a strong manly voice shot out into the crowd. Then a pause.

“Figli di Dante!” Then another pause.

And then the voice rising and the words gathering speed, “Figli di Michelangelo, di Leonardo.” He then paused again.

Yet the words with the sublime invocation seemed to be hanging over the piazza like a glowing canopy.

A few men near me exchanged glances. They were appreciative glances. The men may have been shop assistants or railway officials or lawyers or ice cream vendors, or perhaps barbers; yet he called them the sons of Julius Caesar, and Dante and Michelangelo, “Per Bacco,” he appreciates us after all. Of course we are the sons of Dante (born at Ravenna) and Michelangelo (born in Caprese).

The strong, beautifully articulate voice proceeded, “Sono venuto da voi non come il Capo di Governo ma come un.” Here he paused for a second, and then flung into the crowd as though in self dedication the word “fratello”.¹ Each syllable was a separate gift. The speaker had made the word sound endearing and intensely human. But there was also fire in it and the freshness of brotherhood.’

This is an example of a particularly successful speech because the audience was not necessarily friendly at the beginning—in fact they were inclined to be

¹ ‘I do not come as the head of the government but as a brother.’

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mistrustful, as of an invader. No doubt other men could have made a much more intelligent speech, one that was intellectually or philosophically much more satisfying, but such a speech would have been a failure because it could not have established contact and consequently it would have failed to persuade.

Shakespeare, under somewhat artificial conditions but nevertheless with that sureness of human touch that has given him the unchallenged place he holds, has illustrated the power of speech under adverse conditions in Mark Antony's oration after Caesar's murder. Here we see craftily mixed the appeal to pity, anger, and self-interest, and of course dramatic presentation.

It is neither possible, nor at all desirable, for every public speaker to be a Laurence Olivier, but it is very important that a public speaker should study the art of dramatic presentation, and, having studied it, that he should apply it to himself. Many have been the laughable performances by mediocre speakers who are under the impression that they can emulate successfully Mr. Winston Churchill or Lord Birkenhead. A large looking-glass and a short gramophone recording should be enough to dispel these grandiose illusions for all except the most insensitive and thick-skinned.

Too many, however, of our public utterers are both insensitive and thick-skinned, which means that they cannot take the temperature of an audience and learn nothing from subsequent criticism of their efforts. That is something that no painstaking elocutionist can teach, and it is one of the secrets of great oratory. There are the more obvious signs in an audience—

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such as coughs, boos and down-right violence. The last two are not necessarily signs of a bad speech, but merely of hostility. The first is the unmistakable sign of boredom which is the most damning comment on any speech. Only the sensitive speaker can appreciate the difference between the silence of rapt attention and the silence of vacuity or complete indifference. Similarly, only he can feel, as it were, with his fingertips the flow of sensations within his audience.

There are numerous occasions when this flow is controlled from the very beginning by the design of his speech—marked up like a musical score—*alla marcia*, *ralièntando*, *fortissimo*. That assumes, first of all, a speaker of great competence and power, and also an audience that has been correctly assessed in advance, either as friendly or hostile, intellectual or purely physical. The easiest task is telling people what they want to hear, but invariably the more important is telling them what they do not.

Lord Simon—then Sir John Simon—addressed the Oxford Union Society in 1915. He was speaking in support of the National Government and in particular of the leader, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who was at the depth of his unpopularity, especially with the ‘purist’ Oxford ‘Reds’. After a speech of no mean ability with a high vitriolic content by Mr. Aubrey Herbert which was clearly approved by a high percentage of the House, Sir John rose. In clear, cold terms he addressed himself to his audience and his subject. The Union was at first critical and derisive—the speaker being an ex-President was not entitled to and did not expect the restrained courtesy extended

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to a visitor, at any rate at the beginning of his speech. He swept on; the texture of his argument, the order of its marshalling, the decisiveness of his phrase gripped that great and highly critical society, and when he sat down after forty minutes of magnificent oratory the House rose in tumultuous applause. The day was won for the government.

It was not a set speech—it could not have been under the circumstances. It was a debating speech by a great master of debate before an audience which he understood. Never at any point did the speaker fail to control the intellectual and physical emotions of his listeners.

In great contrast was a speech by someone whose name I have forgotten who stopped completely dead and exclaimed, 'One minute, please, I've lost my train of thought', which observation was suitably greeted by a barrage of whistles and other railway noises.

A speech—and the speaker must be capable of standing up to interruption. In the case of the speaker this is entirely a question of ability, temperament and experience. A man who is speaking from notes without really understanding his speech can quickly be demolished by very simple questioning. A speaker who gets flurried under fire is useless. Mgr. Ronald Knox once asserted that the derisive laugh is the most devastating weapon in the hand of the heckler. The simple cry of 'nonsense' at the critical and dramatic point in a speech is equally effective.

The form of a speech can easily lay a speaker open to heckling, by bad phrasing, unintentional 'double entendres' and emotional pauses. There is, of course,

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the classic example—still used far too often—of the expression, 'I ask myself a question'—to which the immediate reply comes back, 'And a silly answer you'll get'.

Finally, there is gesture and affectation generally. A 'speaking instructor', as he called himself, once observed to a class of would-be 'Churchills' that all people with glasses should take them off from time to time when speaking, especially to emphasise a point. A political acquaintance of mine has followed his advice with disastrous results as he either drops his glasses or has such difficulty in putting them back that he invariably forgets what he is saying. This is, however, far the most entertaining part of his speeches.

It is ridiculous to prescribe gestures and affectations—such as stutters and hesitation, and the odd pronunciation of certain words like the Churchillian interpretation of 'Nazi' and 'Gestapo'. It is only possible to say that gesture is part of dramatic presentation and should be studied as such with once again close attention to the speaker's own figure and personality. It is possible to be very effective without using any gesture whatsoever. Field-Marshal Montgomery used to speak during the war for very long spells without any perceptible movement—which in itself was a gesture.

The speech, therefore, must be regarded as the first and most important instrument of persuasion, being the natural method of communication between human beings. The essential provisos are that the speech itself should be designed to say a few things clearly in language understood by the people to whom it is

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addressed and that the speaker should at the least be competent to deliver it. Great oratory demands a great oration with the qualities of personality, the dramatic ability to put it across, and, above all, a sense of people—and the last is the quality common to all those who would persuade anyone else to do anything.

Speech has, up till recent years, had one great and important restriction, namely, it has been confined to people within earshot. The radio has overcome this weakness and the television system will increase the development. Speaking on the radio is, however, speaking with a difference, which can be summed up as 'remote control'. There is no way of gauging audience reaction—it can only be predicted from experience.

There is another difference, which is one of condition. The speech is heard by the audience under a variation of conditions, unlike an open speech which is heard by a set audience under common conditions. The radio speech enters into the home in a way which can make it an instrument with great power either to please or to offend.

A significant fact is that in every major political crisis in recent memory there has been an appeal over the radio. In every political upheaval in countries other than this the radio centre has been among the first places to be taken over.

The introduction of 'party political broadcasts' over the B.B.C. has added to the importance of the radio as an instrument of political persuasion. There is, however, no doubt at all that it has superseded the

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Press as an organ of authority on matters of moment and the fact that it can, and often does, beat the Press in the publication of news of urgency and importance has added to its strength.

Few who heard them will forget the publications of the bulletins of the last hours of King George V—‘The King’s life is moving peacefully towards its close.’ The power of the radio, which is being so vastly enhanced by television, lies in the fact that it enables so many people to be there. In the study that we are engaged on now that is its most significant characteristic. It is the fact that so many people are able to be there on so many occasions and in so many spheres of communal life that is of such importance. His Majesty King George VI recognised that when he spoke to the nation on the night of his coronation on 12th May, 1936:

Never before has a newly-crowned King been able to speak to all his people in their homes on the day of his coronation.

The radio has, in effect, done much to discredit secret diplomacy and the conduct of government by the few without reference to the many. It is true that this can on occasions be an embarrassment, but it is true also that it is making a practical reality of the theory of democracy. This is realised more by the opponents of democracy than by its adherents, which accounts for the spate of radio propaganda which emanates and has emanated over the radio from totalitarian sources.

When President Roosevelt initiated his ‘fireside

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chats' he showed an astute understanding of radio psychology. He was taking the nation into his confidence around their own hearths, because he knew that the radio could penetrate there in a way that no other medium could. That was a place where grand orations were out of place. A homely communion was what was needed, and in establishing that he did every bit as much as Adolf Hitler from the glittering floodlit rostrum of Nuremberg.

It is improbable that any speech over the radio will again have so much effect, or at any rate greater effect, than that made by Mr. Winston Churchill in 1940 after the fall of Dunkirk.

In unforgettable language he said what was in the hearts of every one of his listeners. His words had the strength of at least ten divisions, and with them the nation rallied to conquer. In cold print they still have the ring of emotion, but it was the voice of the leader, the expression, the phrase, its great personal intimacy, and at the same time its lofty national declamation that achieved its purpose.

The radio, compared to the more established forms of public enlightenment, is in its youth, and it has still many of the attributes of youth which are shared quite naturally to an even greater degree by television. For this reason their twin forces present a subject for the most active research and development by students of the technique of persuasion.

After speech, direct and indirect, comes the written word on the control panel. Unquestionably the most powerful conveyance of the written word is the newspaper. There is an authoritative ring, not by any

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means always justified by experience, in the phrase, 'I read it in the newspaper'. The odd thing is that whenever one reads an account of some event one has attended or a statement on some subject about which one happens to know a certain amount, it is nearly always inaccurate in some detail. And yet we all continue to say, 'It was in the paper', as if that were the final word.

Of recent days the Press has come under review by political forces who feel that they are not fairly represented, or, alternatively, too unfairly misrepresented. The ownership of the Press has not unnaturally been one of the great bones of contention.

It is interesting in the light of the accusation that the Press is committed to the 'Right' way of British politics, to note the position at the General Election of 1945. The only papers which could be said to be committed to the Socialist cause were the *Daily Herald*, and the *Daily Worker*. On the other hand, the political influence of the *Daily Mirror* and *Picture Post* were unquestionably anti-Conservative.

Against these were ranged *The Times*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the whole of the Kemsley and the Beaverbrook Press. The preponderance was vastly in favour of the Conservative *bloc*, which was thereupon defeated.

This is a lesson that those who would wish to 'curb' and control the Press should do well to bear in mind. Newspapers are primarily bearers of news and it is as such that they are received by the great mass of the public. No newspaper under conditions of competitive sales could afford to give only news of a character acceptable to the political element which

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its owners favour. Such conduct is in fact only possible by state controlled and financed newspapers.

The sensitivity shown by Socialist Members of Parliament to newspaper criticism and their threatening reactions augur very ill for the future of democracy under Socialism, and it is one of the clearest indications that Socialism and Free Thought are incompatible once Socialism becomes authority.

Mr. Herbert Morrison—the Goebbels of the Socialist movement—is, however, much more astute than many of his colleagues. He knows that news is the raw material of the Press and that views are a by-product. He therefore restricted newsprint from 1915 onwards so that views-point was largely eliminated. What a government says—however silly or dishonest—is news. Therefore so long as Mr. Morrison's party forms the government their observations and *voltes faces* will continue to be news and will have place in the news. These tactics are sound so long as the conduct of the government is the sort of news that Mr. Morrison would want the people to have.

It would be foolish to suggest that the Press does not remain a great power in the moulding of public opinion. The results of the General Election of 1915 will always remain an interesting and controversial study in this respect. The failure of the great mass of the Press to convince the people to re-elect Mr. Churchill was not so much due to the failing influence of the Press but to the way in which Mr. Churchill's cause was presented to and by the Press and to other forces which we have discussed—and will discuss again—during this study.

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One of the most significant results of the reduction of newsprint is bound to be the increased importance of such news as does appear and the growth of the influence of papers outside the main 'National' Daily group. Of these the most significant are the two great pictorial periodicals, *Picture Post* and *Illustrated*. This is a form of journalism that has come to stay because it is 'easy to grasp'. There is considerable American influence in the background and, in fact, the facial resemblance of *Picture Post* to the American paper, *Life*, admits this. Pictorial journalism is an art that lends itself particularly to propaganda because so much can be said without saying anything.

A class of journal that is now at low ebb and seems destined to sink lower—at any rate in influence if not in circulation—is the periodical literary journal. Their task has been taken over by the radio and by the snappier type of periodical which has come into being since *Illustrated* and *Picture Post*. We are moving, in fact, into an age of 'inquiry' when more and more people are becoming more and more interested in more and more things—and particularly in politics.

This is one of the answers to the 1915 result in so far as the Press is concerned. Politics have penetrated—both the lives and the consciousness of so many more people—new political decisions are being formed as a result of many more and diverse influences and the Press is no longer their main guide. What is going to happen between Arsenal and Chelsea, who is going to win the St. Leger, those are the topics on which the Press undoubtedly remains the great authority. This may be very mortifying for those journalists who

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regard themselves as mentors of the nation, but it is really not such a bad thing for the nation.

All this makes nonsense of the case against the Press, levelled with a high degree of irresponsibility on the part of its opponents. It is, however, an indication which the politician and the propagandist must not ignore. It calls for a new technique in using the Press as an instrument of political persuasion. It calls essentially for a non-partisan approach to politics; for political persuasion by inference more than by direct frontal attack.

The spoken word and the written word are the two most important control switches on the control panel. The newspaper and the periodical are the chief vehicles of the latter, but the poster must not be ignored because it is no less an instrument of direct persuasion.

The habit of writing things on walls is one of the oldest in the world and it still has its attractions. It is an elementary form of expression which is often carried to the most crude and animal lengths. Apart from any pornographic amusement that this may give, it has an important psychological significance. It means that the poster is an elemental instrument of quick communication which, used in the right way and at the right time, can be instantaneously effective.

Lenin knew this when he wrote up 'All Power to the Soviets', and the walls of the old régime came tumbling down. 'Liberté, Fraternité, Egalité' scribbled the French revolutionaries across the face of half a continent, and a century and a quarter later 'Ein Reich, Ein Volk, Ein Führer' thundered the

Nazis. 'Help him finish the job' advised the 1945 Conservatives—but this was not such a success.

The use of posters is largely confined to commercial advertising and to political activity, and these subjects will both be examined in some detail. Like so many simple activities it is more often abused than intelligently and scientifically exercised.

To draw a clear distinction between instruments of direct and indirect persuasion is a dangerous thing to do and it requires qualification. An instrument of direct persuasion is one used essentially for the purpose of carrying a message or enforcing a purpose. An instrument of indirect persuasion may well do both, but it was not forged for that purpose. Hence the speech which includes radio, the newspaper and the poster fall into this sphere, the book with a social or political message, the play with a similar objective, the song with a patriotic, national or international purpose. All these are common coinage and the names of those who have struck the coins are numerous and well known.

In our own time Bernard Shaw and John Galsworthy as dramatists, J. B. Priestley, Rom Landau, Arturo Barea, Arthur Koestler, Gerald Kersh and John Steinbeck as writers, Rudyard Kipling and G. K. Chesterton as poets, Elgar and Holst as musicians, Topolski as artist—to make a random and varied selection—have shown their willingness to play a part in a social-political activity.

No, the line cannot be clearly drawn, although there is a clear difference between independent and commissioned effort in the sphere of the arts work.

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Wagner did not write 'The Ring' for the benefit of Adolf Hitler, nor was 'The Marseillaise' originally composed for the benefit of Danton and the rest. Going more deeply than that, the philosophical and artistic message cannot avoid being applied by more practical and worldly men to practical and worldly purposes, no matter the conditions under which it may have been conceived.

The propagandist aims to appeal to senses—how much more effectively that is done by using the finest rather than the coarsest instruments.

The arts are, however, by no means so detached as all this from the practical first heading; literature, art, drama, which includes the films, music and song, pageantry with all its appurtenances can be made instruments of indirect persuasion.

In passing to a discussion of indirect persuasion one passes into a realm of infinite controversy. Here are activities which by their very nature defy the setting down of principles of application and of rules and definitions. At the same time they can be, and are, used quite as effectively as the primary means of persuasion. Their role, in so far as even that term should be used, is one of 'conditioning'. They create an atmosphere in which the primary instruments can do their work more expeditiously and more convincingly.

The man of letters, the artist, the dramatist, the poet and musician will with one accord declaim against this prostitution of the arts. The totalitarians have gone much farther along the path of directing the arts, as is only natural that they should. The organised 'culture and enlightenment' of Soviet Russia and

The most distinguished

sportsmen prefer

DAKS

While most people are familiar with the most
famous of all sportswear Daks trousers,
many are unaware that in England Daks are
also famous for their light and airy English
made trousers. Light and airy English
made trousers are the pride of Daks collectors. These trousers
are made for their comfort, cut and hang
and the wealth of material and colours in which
they are made. Sold at Simpson Piccadilly London
and other leading stores throughout Great Britain and
the world, soon we hope from the best mens
shop in France.

S. Simpson Ltd. Stoke Newington Road London N 16



'DAKS advertising created a habit

formerly of Nazi Germany is something for which we have so far no clear counterpart as yet in this country, although there are moments when one can detect Sir Stafford Cripps squinting in that direction.

Mr. Malcolm Muggeridge gave a revealing example of this behaviour in an article in the *Daily Telegraph*:

‘Shostakovich, for instance, professed that “every time the Party (Communist) has expressed the will of the people and corrected the errors of any artists or severely criticised trends of Soviet art which were foreign to the people, it has always been to the advantage of art as a whole and of the creative activities of the artists”.

In accents even more dissonant than his own compositions Shostakovich goes on to confess: “I see clearly that I overestimated the depth of my creative change, that certain peculiarly negative features of my musical thought have prevented me from developing the new trend in my later works.” No doubt there are many musicians who will not cross swords with him on that score.

Finally the poor fellow announces, “I will once again compose Soviet popular music.” The application of this correct Party decision will produce a new upsurge for Soviet music.” Whether that will prove the case or not the blindfold of the Party and the cringing subservience of Germany will produce an immediate upsurge within the crowd of any man who believes in the integrity of art and culture.

So much for the Communist musical box—all that can be said for him is that he has given a new connotation to the symphony.

An even more absurd and degrading exhibition, also quoted by Mr. Muggeridge, took place at the ‘World Conference of Intellectuals’ when Comrade Alexander Fadeyev denounced French, American and English writers in these penetrating and cultured words: ‘If

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that I found myself singing the chorus with great force. I felt myself being surcharged again and again with emotion.

A feeling of expansiveness, of wanting to get into the fight, into the great emotional swing of this people, surged through me. I remarked to Jerry, "If I were a German I would be in this thing in a minute".'

Even more revealing is an observation by the same man at a later date when he was far from the scene:

'It is a curious thing that to this day I cannot hear "The Watch on the Rhine" without catching something of a martial spirit, a desire to fight, with images of myself in a fine uniform marching in military step with others.'

Not the least interesting part of that short narrative is the reference to the subsequent association of the tune with the previous events. This is the subtle power that music possesses. The association of songs with causes is an important process of persuasion. From it the singing of patriotic, community and school songs, and the playing of regimental marches, take their origin.

Pageantry—stage management—music and song—with banners and pretty lights; these have a great part to play. They are the great stimulants of gregariousness. They weld people together in joy and exaltation, in solemn dedication and determination, and, of course, they can also weld them together in violence and in hatred.

Finally, there are the signs and badges of group and of rank. A great deal of rabid and unbalanced fulmination goes on on this subject. Again the shadow of Marshal Goering lies across the path, and it was some shadow in its day. Once again the laughable

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thing is that the very people who in opposition sought to abolish all such 'trophies' have now discovered their desirability and are most addicted to them. In fact, one suspects that some of the newly-created noblemen are often sorely tempted to have breakfast in their coronets.

No doubt the language in the barrack rooms of the Brigade of Guards on the subject of spit and polish is, on occasions, too lurid to be reprinted here, but even more lurid would be the reaction if all such practices were stopped and the Guards were ordered to turn out in grey flannels and cricket shirts. Even so they would contrive to make even those regimental.

Abolish such distinctions and where would be the pride of the corporal in his first 'tapes'—where the thrill of the schoolboy in his first Rugger cap—and where the pride of the supporters and the admiration of the crowd?

That experienced and tremendous institution, the Roman Catholic Church, has long known the value of colour and of ceremony. Its critics and detractors denounce it from time to time for this reason. If, in fact, the faith of the Roman Church depended—as it does not—on ceremony, then that detraction would be justified. It is basically a means to an end and the power of the faith is just as strong for a Catholic in the midst of a ceremony in battle, or in the simplest barn in the wilds of the country, as it is under the blazing candelabra of St. Peters.

No one can fail to sense the power of the scene transmitted by Franz Werfel in his description of the moment of the canonisation of Bernadette:

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'A microphone had been placed in front of the Pope. Amplified by loud speakers the sonorous voice of the eleventh Pius penetrated to every corner of the Church of St. Peter.

We declare and render decision that the blessed Marie Bernarde Soubirous is a Saint. We enrol her name in the calendar of saints. We decree that her memory be annually celebrated in the name of the Virgin on the sixteenth day of April the day of her heavenly birth.

This was the formula. Scarcely had it been spoken when the thousands of voices were raised in the *Te Deum* to the accompaniment of the pealing silver trumpets and the deep thunder of the St. Peter's chimes.'

If, in the performance of faith, colour can be brought into lives that are often dark and sordid enough, what damage is done? The strength of the Catholic Church in some of the darkest corners of our own land is not without its significance.

These then, in brief review, are the main instruments which are to be found on the control panel of persuasion. We must now consider the main spheres of activity in which those controls are operated and the various forms that that operation takes. To each of these can be given names, names which are already well known. What is not so clearly appreciated is the close relationship between the operation concerned. It is this relationship as we shall see that goes to make up the main structure of the technique of persuasion.

It may seem out of proportion to start with commercial persuasion. A more considered study will demonstrate that this is a sound course because many of the fundamentals of the whole process are found there in their simplest manifestation. Commercial per-

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suasion falls under two main and integral heads—salesmanship and advertising—of which the former is more highly organised and the latter technically more difficult. Salesmanship and advertising are largely concerned with man's prime desires to eat, drink, and thence to live. That is another reason why the subject forms a good basis from which to study persuasion in other directions.

Of these, the most vital, and one which controls the life of the whole community, is, as we have already seen, that of politics. Political propaganda must therefore be regarded as a 'key' activity.

Closely linked with political propaganda, although playing a part which ought in a democracy to be essentially non-political, is persuasion in industrial and social matters, which is known by the elusive term of public relations.

A more specialised but none the less important form of persuasion is that which is essential to any group in time of stress or crisis, namely, morale-building, which is a combination of processes for which there is no adequate generic name.

Lastly, but fundamentally, there is that form of persuasion that is capable of inflaming the hearts and minds of men more fiercely than any other—evangelism.

All these forms of persuasion will be the subjects of separate study. Let it suffice to note them and to underline their relation one to another. While each has existed in some measure since the beginning of time, it is only recently that their significance has begun to be understood. This is only to be expected in

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the light of the greater importance now attached to men's relations one with another.

This tendency is reflected, not only in the work of the social psychologists and their associates, but also in the activities of such organisations as 'Mass Observation' in this country and the 'Gallup Poll' in America. This continuous taking of the temperature is an invaluable guide to those engaged in the work of persuasion. It is part of the intelligence service essential to the preliminary planning of any campaign of activity.

In any society in which education plays its proper part it is inevitable that men should grow more conscious of each other as members of a community. They will rightly wish to take an active part in organising that community. In order to do that they must understand the significance of persuasion.

CHAPTER 4

The Character and Aims of Advertising

‘THE BEST WAY OF SEEING WHAT PROPAGANDA can be in a democratic State is to look briefly at the character and aims of advertising.’

This statement comes, not from an advertising man, nor yet again from a politician concerned with advertising, but unexpectedly from a Cambridge Don. The disinterestedness and the academic honesty of the writer adds value as well as novelty to the point of view.

Professor Bartlett has in fact attributed a significance to the function of advertising which is unfortunately not appreciated by a large number of people engaged in that activity.

He goes on to point out that:

‘An advertiser, if he is to be successful, must recognise very fully that many other agencies will probably set to work at the same time as himself, using exactly the same methods as his to induce just the same people to buy products different from those in which he is himself directly interested.’

Advertising assumes competition, and free competition, of products and of ideas. An important issue which arises at once, and one which is very considerable, is the question of advertising for products which are not subject to free competition, namely products, and services too, produced under national direction.

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When Professor Bartlett wrote his book from which I have quoted, there were no nationalised industries in this country. It is arguable that this form of controlled production, bearing a close resemblance as it does to the handiwork of the Nazis and Communists, is not democratic. From this it would follow that advertising for such products was an undemocratic procedure. This would to a certain extent invalidate Professor Bartlett's thesis.

The fact is that advertising has a dual role, as salesman and as a means of public enlightenment. Professor Bartlett's observations are based essentially on a consideration of advertising as salesman. As a means of public enlightenment advertising is also to a certain extent salesman—it is competing, not with competitive goods, but with competitive ideas. It is true that there is not the same immediate financial competition about this process, but if the competing ideas grow strong enough they could either slow down or destroy a 'nationalised' product. Once a nationalised organisation and the theory of democracy are reconciled, and they can be, then it is also possible to condone the role of advertising for a nationalised industry. This, however, moves from the realm of pure commercial advertising, with which we are immediately concerned, to that of social morale, which we will study later.

Before we can appreciate either the full meaning of Professor Bartlett's statement with regard to propaganda in a democracy, which is a vast subject in itself, and before we can study this new advertising problem which has arisen since the nationalisation of certain

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British industries, we must consider exactly what are the character and aims of advertising.

Advertising is the reflection of a basic social activity—the exchange of ideas and commodities—and as such it is in itself an activity on which a great many other activities can be based. It is therefore surprising to find that in the field of advertising very little has been done until comparatively recently to give shape to the principles which govern its practice.

It is true that advertising is not an exact science in so far as there is never only one right way of solving an advertising problem and every solution must vary according to the variations of the problem. Anyone who attempts to lay down rigid 'advertising rules' is in serious danger of trying to drive a constant through the midst of a number of variables. This is an amusing intellectual pursuit, but as a practical or business proposition it is the road to disaster.

Over against this there are certain clearly definable principles which govern the application of advertising. These have been better defined by Sir William Crawford, the architect of British Advertising, in the three words, Domination, Concentration, Repetition.

The validity of these principles is immediately obvious where they are applied to any advertisement, or advertising campaign. It is confirmed when any attempt is made to better them, to enlarge on them, or to deny them. Each process ends respectively in irrelevance, redundancy or inaccuracy.

The reason for this is that Sir William Crawford has seen beyond advertising—he has had the advantage of a viewpoint head and shoulders above most of

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his colleagues and competitors. He has, moreover, not so much studied and practised advertising, but lived it. The thing is in his blood. It is an acumen which no amount of lessons can teach, although once the acumen is there the lessons of experience are the only lessons worth learning.

Domination is the foundation of success in any advertising campaign. It springs firstly from an idea, and it is achieved only through the way in which that idea is put across. There have been many 'dominating' ideas in advertising, but only a small percentage of them have dominated. That has nearly always been due to creative ineptitude on the part of the advertising agent, or to his inability to persuade the client to support a striking and original campaign as opposed to a safe, and consequently banal, approach.

The foremost qualities that achieve domination are originality of thought, simplicity of interpretation, and sincerity of design. As we discuss the application of advertising it will become more obvious why these qualities are so important.

There are two aspects of concentration. There is concentration of idea and concentration of resources. There is in advertising, as in war, an 'eternal horizon', or the insistent desire to bite off just a bit more and consequently to bite off more than one can chew. In so far as ideas are concerned, this unfailingly leads to a mass of detail which cannot possibly be presented coherently or decisively in any advertisement. This means that lack of concentration of ideas must result in lack of domination. The combination of these results can be guaranteed to ruin the best advertising cam-

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paign, however brilliant its original conception. Failure to concentrate resources in advertising, again as in war, leads to weakness on the ground, which spells defeat. Better always to make a small impression on some people than to make no impression at all on anyone. Best of all to make a great impression on all of the people, but that can only be achieved with fairly considerable resources. It would, however, be very dangerous to leave the impression that big expenditure and large sizes in newspapers are the essentials of successful advertising. One of the most brilliant campaigns before the 1939-45 war—that for DAKS—was put over for less than £10,000 in the first year, due to a brilliant idea, brilliantly executed and to perfect co-operation between advertiser and advertising agent.

Not the least important aspect of the DAKS advertising was that it created a habit. This is by far the most difficult yet at the same time most important of the achievements of advertising. The ability of advertising to persuade men and women to do something that they had not thought of doing before—in this case to persuade men to wear trousers which had neither the conventional belt nor braces, and women to wear trousers at all—has a social significance which cannot be overlooked.

Just as domination cannot be achieved without concentration, so both are undermined by lack of repetition. No one who knows anything at all about advertising can fail to admit that the continuous repetition of the story is the only way in which anyone will learn the story. It is also true that if you go on

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saying a thing long enough someone is bound to believe you. In view of this it is astonishing to find how many advertising campaigns have been ruined through lack of persistence, usually due to a lack of confidence or courage. One of the most common attributes of the advertiser is to demand to see immediate results, and if he is an American, to demand to see them yesterday. Apart from the fact that it is extremely difficult to measure the results of advertising with any degree of certainty, it is a cumulative process which without accumulation simply will not work.

A prominent advertiser sent for his agent and said, 'This advertising of ours must be changed, people are getting tired of it.' The agent then pointed out that it had not yet appeared in the papers. It was the advertiser—and no doubt the agent—who was tired of it, having laboured for so long in its presentation.

Advertising is salesmanship with a difference, and that difference is one of technique and of approach. Salesmanship, as the manufacturer thinks of it is primarily the selling of his product to the trade in order that the trade may sell it to the public. He is himself absorbed by his own product, fiercely concerned with the progress of his competitors. He is profoundly convinced that his product is continuously the centre of interest and attention. His world revolves around it and he trains up an army of men whose world is his world. With their assistance he builds up a high-powered organisation. He is able to check continuously the progress of his product by his sales figures—and if he is wise he checks also the progress of his competitors. To a great extent he is introspective in

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his activity, he is always watching and analysing his product and his sales organisation.

Advertising, while it has exactly the same task of selling the product, is more concerned with looking outward at the actual people who use the product. Advertising is more objective than salesmanship; it accepts more consciously the fact that people may quite well not have heard of the product, may not want to hear about it, and that if they do hear of it they will quite as easily forget it. This is a disconcerting state of affairs that manufacturers often overlook or refuse to accept as if it were sacrilege until it is borne in on them by the balance sheet.

Advertising is concerned with the study of people and their habits. It is also the study of products and their potential markets. A successful advertising campaign is the result of the sound collaboration between the manufacturer, with his practical first-hand knowledge of his product and his sales problem and with his sales sense, and the advertising agent with his human touch, his sales perspective and the wealth of his creative resources.

The essential role of advertising is to create the background against which the product is sold to the public and the atmosphere in which the salesman works with the trade. Advertising creates the character of a product, it gives it prestige and simultaneously it establishes the confidence of the public in that product which transforms the desire to buy it once into a habit.

'Stunt' advertising, which is in effect 'publicity' and not advertising, is only useful in that it produces initial sales—planned advertising and the sales force are

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responsible for the repeat orders, without which no business can live.

All this assumes the highly important fact that advertised goods must be good. That phrase used by the Advertising Association, 1937, is one of the few sound 'laws of advertising'.

To it I would add five more, making these six.

1. Advertised goods must be good.
2. Advertising must be based on truth.
3. Advertising must be expressed in language understood by the people.
4. Advertising must have coherent design.
5. Advertising must be related to sales.
6. Advertising must be conducted according to professional standards.

There is no more disastrous policy than to advertise a product that is not right. It is only human nature that disapproval should be quicker to find its voice than approval. Advertisers of bad products have found this to their very considerable cost. It is a most damaging thing for the advertising agent to undertake a campaign for a bad product. If he does it wittingly then he offends not only against law 1, but against laws 2 and 6 as well.

'Advertised goods must be good'—there is a double inference there. The first inference affects the producer. If he is prepared to present his product to the public then he must be quite certain that it lives up to all the claims he makes for it. It is true to say that a product that fails does so in ratio to the amount expended in advertising it—the greater the height the greater the fall.

Men of self-respect



Shave with Gillette

When you meet a man for the first time you may not notice the colour of his eyes—but you *will* notice whether he is well-shaved or not. For any man of self-respect, then, the daily shave is an important matter. You can be sure that he uses the method that gives him the closest, smoothest shave possible. You won't find him experimenting with cheap blades—he knows that it is a false economy. He uses Gillette, and goes on using Gillette, because he finds it the finest (and the most economical) shaving system that money can buy.

GILLETTE ONE-PIECE RAZOR SETS 6¢ TO 35¢
REAL GILLETTE BLADES 5¢ FOR 10

A fine example of creative work that
is in keeping with the product



Good mornings begin with

Gillette



...the sharpest edge in the world!

Amusing Distinguished- Assertive.
It makes the public feel good towards Gillette

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The other inference is that which affects the consumer. 'It's in the papers so it must be true.' As we have seen, that is a very unwise assumption, but it still carries weight. Rightly or wrongly, as we shall discuss, the consumer argues that anything that bears a name that he has seen advertised must have some claim to being reputable.

'Advertised goods must be good' is an advertising law which is derived entirely from that essential quality 'Confidence'. Advertising must create confidence, and confidence is a state of mind which occurs when a contract is signed between two parties establishing a mutual trust.

It is not a written contract--it is a psychological contract. It is a question of attitude of mind. It is the secret of success in advertising; it is the key to the door of public understanding.

Confidence depends on truth. That is why the first and second laws of advertising are almost indissolubly linked. 'What is truth?' said Pilate, and being a soldier and not an intellectual, he would not stay for any answer. Truth, in the case of advertising, is any statement that cannot be proved to be a lie. The quack on the street corner in Wapping may succeed in selling his twenty-four hour influenza cure for a single day for the simple reason that he is selling to an audience that may not be very discriminating and because he is careful not to allow it time to discover that the claims he makes are false. He will not be there in twenty-four hours. If, however, that same quack sets up business in one known place and advertises his goods in reputable papers (assuming that they will

accept his advertisements) he will be doomed to failure.

Advertising always tends to emphasise the qualities of any product and ignores any defects, if such there be. In that sense it is not a purely objective activity. There is no harm in that because it is only tantamount to expressing an opinion. The harm is done if the opinion is based upon a falsehood and if claims are made that cannot be substantiated.

British advertising differs in practice from foreign advertising. A certain foreign manufacturer once showed me advertisements for his product which claimed 'speed' as one of its great qualities. Slowness was, in fact, one of its defects. I pointed this out. 'But naturally,' he rejoined, 'we must offset this by our advertising claims—that is what advertising is for.'

That is precisely what advertising is not for. The fact that my friend's experience was limited to a country previously under Fascist domination was an interesting commentary on his approach to the subject.

It is because propagandists under totalitarian systems of government have used propaganda and its allied subjects to 'cover up' defects in their arguments that disrepute has fallen upon the whole process.

Mr. G. H. Saxon Mills, whose success as an advertising copy writer cannot be denied, has said: 'Never state without communicating'. That bears out the third law of advertising which is all too often disregarded. Confidence depends on truth, but it also depends on communication and that communication must be psychological, emotional and intellectual.

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Any advertising that fails to communicate automatically fails completely.

There are a number of reasons why so many advertising campaigns fail to communicate, the most common is self-satisfaction. This is a type of commercial introversion which is only too prevalent amongst big industrialists. It is due largely to the fact that they live in a world of their own where the qualities of their product are never in doubt. They are not consciously superior in their attitude. They are unconsciously restricted and circumspect. As a result they make statements which communicate inwards, but not outwards. It is here that advertising has its important part to play, and it is on this most vital point that advertising and pure mechanical salesmanship differ.

The producer assumes that he has only to utter the name of his product, to proclaim one, or all, of its qualities and an enthralled community will applaud. The advertising man knows that this is not the case, and that the community will applaud only that which interests it.

The producer must speak to the community, not in his language, but in theirs. The approach is not 'We have the best seats, you can take them or leave them', but 'You want the best seats—we have them'.

The statement, 'We have the best seats', may quite well be of no interest at all, in which case there will be no call to action—there will be no communication.

In speaking to people in their own language it is essential not to be obsequious. There is a great power in assertion. If an advertisement is overloaded with explanations it will become suspect, just in the same

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way as it will become ridiculous if it is loaded with superlatives. The degree of confidence with which a manufacturer can assert depends considerably on the position he holds in the market. In the case of a product such as Gillette it is unnecessary to spend any time assuring people that Gillette make good razors or that Gillette blades are sharp. All that can be confidently assumed—and the assumption is strengthened by firm assertion. That is why it is possible to say 'Good Mornings begin with Gillette' and leave it that.

In the case of a less known product with only a small share of the market it is necessary to be far more explicit and explanatory. But such explanations should in term be made in an assertive tone.

It is, of course, perfectly sound for a well-established manufacturer to enter into detail from time to time. People may not be particularly interested in the detail but the fact that it is given will leave the impression of technical soundness and of the time and trouble expended on their behalf in the making of the product. That again breeds confidence.

The appeal that any product makes is most effective when it coincides with a desire which already exists in the people to which the appeal is made. That appeal is most effective if it is made in language that the people concerned can understand. To take a simple example: if Mr. Winston Churchill had made his great 'Dunkirk Speech' in Greek it would not have had the desired effect. This is such a silly example that it seems fatuous to give it, but it is in fact not nearly so fatuous as many advertising appeals on which organisations spend hundreds of pounds. For instance, the

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Socialist Government spent a considerable sum on saying, 'We work or want'.

Communication is therefore a matter of appeal, the nature of the appeal and the language in which the appeal is made. It also depends upon the creative form in which that appeal is presented.

Creative style in advertising is far more important than design in industrial products, because whereas a product may still function even though it is ill-designed an advertisement that has no creative form will fail.

The achievement of the late Mr. Frank Pick was vested in his creation of a 'handwriting' for the London Passenger Transport Board, which was immediately recognisable, and which was good handwriting. The advertisers who are most successful are those who have promoted advertisements which are automatically associated with them or their products.

This has been carried so far by Guinness that they have even left their name off the advertisement. Greater courage hath no advertiser—nor greater justification for that courage. Only a mean competitor or an ignoramus of advertising would deny their triumph of technique both to the advertiser and his agent.

It is creative force that gives coherence to an advertisement and coherence is the most powerful of all the attributes of communication. Creative force also gives an advertising campaign its dominating power which is the first principle of all advertising.

These first four laws are concerned with the conception and presentation of an advertising campaign. The fifth and sixth are related to its mechanics.

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Only in the case of purely institutional advertising is it possible to disregard sales, and in a sense institutional advertising is an admission of a certain sales position. When it is necessary to maintain the prestige of an organisation which has nothing to sell, or for whose products demand exceeds supply, an institutional campaign is called for. That call is thereby related to sales.

Advertising which is the product of a sales organisation seldom succeeds, as we have seen, because it is too self-conscious, because it is 'introvert' when it should be 'extrovert'. Advertising which is produced without any relation to sales policy and sales findings will also fail because it may quite probably advance when it should recede and recede when it should advance—emphasise when it should 'soft pedal' and *vice versa*.

The 'language' and 'creative style' of advertising can only be in character if they are closely related to the product and its market. These again seem to be platitudinous observations, but when one sees a high-class liqueur advertised in a style more suited to a fourpenny fruit drink, and a high-class, high-priced spirit presented with a character that would embarrass a self-respecting barmaid, one realises the degree of ham-fistedness with which one has to cope in an activity which above all demands a deft and expert touch.

The other extreme is prescribed by design run riot. Advertising does not, and must not, subscribe to a creed of art for art's sake, and commercial artists cannot afford to forget commerce, although they must

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equally never forget that they are artists. There is no excuse either in commercial advertising or industrial design for any retreat from the functional, because that is to mistake the means for the end. In a single sentence, advertising must be harnessed to the task of selling either a product or a social process.

The professional conduct of advertising is the logical conclusion of all these laws. Without professional conduct there can be no confidence; without confidence none of the processes of advertising can be effective; without effective advertising there can be no co-ordination with sales policy.

Unprofessional advertising is like 'quack medicine'. You cannot romp in the gutter without getting dirty.

One of the great achievements of British advertising has been the establishment over the past years of professional methods of conduct, and great credit is due to those who have been strong enough in principle and clear enough in vision to fight that fight. There are still a number of offenders whose advertising stinks as rankly as their offence. In the field of patent medicines they have found their most unfettered playground, and they have covered their hands and faces—and the products which they touch—with the dirt in which they have revelled.

To-day they are so discredited that they are not worth any further consideration.

The most important codes of professional advertising are refusal to make false claims, refusal to 'knock' or make insidious attacks on competitors, and refusal on the part of an advertising agent to try to spend his client's money for the sake of his own profit. No

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advertising agent should handle more than one product of the same kind. If he does so he cannot hope to be regarded as one of the family by the manufacturer, which is a status which is most devoutly desired.

This question of the relationship between the advertiser and the advertising agent draws attention to the production of advertising, and therefore to the application in practice of the principles and practice which we have been discussing.

Advertising is, for the most part, produced by the Advertising Agency. This somewhat simple statement would need little embellishment—in fact it would hardly have to be made—were it not for the quite astonishing ignorance on the subject displayed by so many people.

‘Oh, so you draw the pictures’ is the not uncommon cry of anyone being introduced to an advertising agent. If such remarks were confined to Mayfair cocktail parties they could be allowed to pass unheeded.

In fact the advertising man and the nature of his work are mysteries to a large percentage of our people. Such is by no means the case in the U.S.A. where advertising executives are amongst the best paid in the country and their activities are scanned and appreciated even by the ‘hot-dog’ vendors.

This is a very significant difference because it means a difference in approach between the two publics. The Americans are unquestionably advertising-conscious—they accept and appraise advertising technique. The British tend to resent advertising and to suspect it. It is a demonstration of the British ‘free-will’

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complex—that determination by the people to make up its own mind. ‘I never read advertisements—they have no influence on me,’ says the pontifical little man from Tooting Bec, and he is, because of this very hard-mindedness, the most malleable of all the subjects with which persuasion has to deal.

American advertising can afford to be more direct and more blatant. British advertising does much of its best work by inference. Going deeper, American advertising concerns itself mainly with the conscious, British advertising has also to consider very largely the sub-conscious, mind.

This most important difference in approach and technique must be closely taken into consideration when applying American advertising here or British advertising in America.

I have digressed, and I shall carry the digression a stage further to consider the implications and problems of International Advertising, which this comparison between the British and American attitudes has raised.

Advertising is, in my view, international only in principle and artistic form, which is to be expected in so far as principles and art are international. The technical knowledge and experience obtained in one market—Great Britain—can further be applied in another—Switzerland—provided that the conditions on the ground justify their application.

National and even local characteristics make it essential to vary the appeal and the methods in which that appeal is made.

In U.S.A., Great Britain, and the Dominions,

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Western Europe, Italy, and the Scandinavian countries, advertising is understood in varying degrees as a scientific process. Elsewhere it tends to be only a haphazard practice of salesman's announcements and bill-sticking. It is in these countries 'without the law' that the influence of international advertising is most noticeable.

In all the countries to which I have referred the main part of the national advertising is carried on through the medium of advertising agencies.

In the case of some of the largest industrial organisations there are considerable advertising departments established within the organisations themselves. There is then a tendency to want to dispense with the services of the advertising agency. This seldom leads to better advertising because the advertising department concerned suffers from the sense of introversion which inevitably exists amongst its colleague departments. Nor can it maintain that perspective and freshness which an advertising agency draws from the variety of its daily experience.

Such a department can undoubtedly be of the very greatest value in working in conjunction with the Sales Department to produce 'point-of-sale' literature. It can deal more competently with internal house organs than an outside agency.

It is not, however, really an economic proposition for even the most considerable industrial concerns to maintain a full-blooded advertising department with executives, artists, copywriters and a production team. If such a department is to produce advertising of the calibre required the cost in salaries alone will be out

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of all proportion to the expenses of other departments, and there is no guarantee that the results will inevitably be forthcoming.

The solution is for there to be an Advertising Manager who should for preference have the status of a Director, or who must in any case have access to the Managing Director. He must under no circumstances be a subordinate in the Sales Director's department, or in anyone else's department for that matter.

The main qualification for such an appointment is a thorough knowledge of advertising agency work and procedure. Only by knowing the other side of the picture, with all its many facets, is it possible for the man in charge of the advertising of a single organisation to do his job with a sense of proportion and with a full grasp of the many and intricate problems with which he has to deal.

A man with such qualifications is able to speak with authority within his own organisation, and he can also speak the language of the agency with which he has to deal, and he can get the best results out of it.

I do not propose to discuss the construction or the detailed workings of an advertising agency here. So far as this study is concerned there are three important people in the agency—the contact executive, the copywriter and the artist.

The contact executive (called in some agencies the account executive) holds—or should hold—the key position, and his role is a complex one. In dealing with his client he must be business man or industrialist or both; with his creative colleagues he must be impressario and arbiter of taste and technique; and,

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above all, with the great public to whom the advertising is to be directed he must be psychologist.

These are three vitally important roles. On paper they may seem simple enough, but it is their complete variation in practice which complicates them. It is a fact that hardly any advertising problem is completely identical with any other. That is why advertising is not something that can be learned out of a book—it is essentially the result of massive experience, of many trials and an equal number of errors. To be an advertising executive a man must have a 'flair' for the job, otherwise he will end up very quickly in a mental home. He must have an appreciation of art and of the qualities of language. Above all, he must have a feeling towards people that is not just cold academic interest, but tantamount to personal affection. There are moments in dealing with some clients when this quality becomes very difficult to sustain.

All this amounts to a sensitivity and touch which can be, and is, developed with experience, but which must be inherent. That is why examinations in advertising from an executive point of view are difficult to set and the results misleading. Any such examination ought always to be accompanied by an extensive *viva voce*.

The old school of advertising believed that an executive ought to entertain his clients and to seize an opportunity when conditions were ripe, in more senses than one, to put over the advertising campaign. Such practices are dying out, in this country at any rate. There is, however, a very sound case for the executive meeting his client on neutral and social

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ground because that promotes a more personal understanding which is essential to good executive handling. Good entertaining must never be a substitute for good advertising, and a sound principle is that an executive should only entertain his client when relations on the advertising front are cordial and satisfactory.

The executive, as impresario, is responsible for the initial inspiration which has to be given to the creative organisation in the advertising agency. Some executives are only competent to give a 'brief' and the inspiration is left to the creative team. In some agencies executives are not given the necessary scope to enable them to inspire their creative colleagues.

The solution lies in a right balance of influence, and it must depend on the executive understanding his client and the product concerned, and on his close association with those who have to create the advertising campaign. Finally, his judgment of people and of the market, which must not be a matter of guesswork, will enable him to assess critically and unemotionally the final results of his collaboration.

In this judgment, and in the mechanical selection of the market to which he must make his approach, the executive is assisted both by the resources and knowledge of his clients' sales department and by his own research organisation.

There are still instances where advertising executives are debarred from knowing the sales position of their clients. This is a thoroughly absurd position and the clients concerned deserve the unsound advertising which they undoubtedly get.

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It does not matter how brilliant advertising may be if it is the wrong advertising. If the appeal is directed to the wrong aspect of the market, or if it is based upon false assumptions, it will fail, and even brilliant failures have the same effect on the sales chart as dismal ones.

Research is important, first as a general indication of the sphere in which advertising must operate, and secondly as a confirmation either of instinctive views held by the executive, or sales conclusions reached by the client. Because of the variations of human nature and the fluctuations of human tastes and habits, it should never be regarded as a fine pin-pointing process incapable of challenge.

The most important services that research renders the advertising executive are that it checks the advertising for 'range' and 'bearing' so far as coverage and appeal are concerned.

Advertising coverage depends on the resources available and upon the nature of the product concerned. The main advertising 'media' which are used are the Press, posters, films, slides, and, in some countries, the radio.

The Press, in its various forms, is still the most powerful advertising medium. One of the reasons for this is that the advertising message is able to assert itself at a time when the reader is in a mood to assimilate messages, when he is reading the news and searching for information. There is, moreover, that atmosphere of authenticity about the Press to which I have referred in an earlier chapter.

An important factor with which advertising agents

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have had to deal during the past years has been the reduction in the size of the newspapers. Gone are the days of full-page advertisements on the front of the *Daily Mail*, and it is very uncertain whether they will return, and extremely questionable whether they ought to return.

The result of this restriction has been to confine the activities of advertising, and particularly the creative force in advertising. This has tended to do great damage to the creative style of British advertising, which is a matter with which we will deal in a moment. The other tendency with which we are more immediately concerned has been the change in emphasis upon advertising media.

Whereas under previous conditions a great advertising campaign was carried essentially by the great national papers, to-day the provincial papers, both morning and evening, have a vital hand in the matter. The 'discovery' of the importance of the provincial evening paper has been a direct result of the newsprint restriction. There is little doubt that whereas the man who lives in the provinces relies on his national paper to enlighten him in the mornings on matters of state, it is to his local evening that he turns more in a spirit of relaxation at the end of the day for the latest news and for sports results. There are the signal exceptions in the case of the national mornings of Edinburgh, Liverpool, Birmingham, Manchester, and Yorkshire, where the provincial dailies have deservedly the status of national newspapers.

With newsprint restricted it was almost impossible to plan the measured appearance of an advertising

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campaign. There was the constant possibility of advertisements being left out of the papers, and only under special conditions were the actual dates of appearance of any advertisement fixed. This resulted in a growth in the importance of posters and a tendency to go out in search of other media.

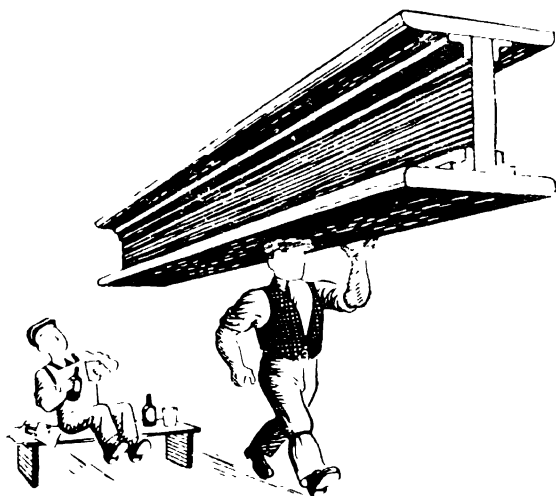
Over the use and abuse of posters there has been much argument. No thinking man can justify under any circumstances the erection of posters which defile the countryside or deface the dignity of architecture. On the railways going out from London there have been displayed advertisements for distemper and for beer which sin against the beauty of nature—at the foot of Nelson's column were hoardings whose presence was an insult to the nation's capital.

The absurd thing about this situation is that posters displayed at such positions do harm to their cause rather than good.

Posters can in fact brighten and enliven dismal situations. They can provide interest on uninteresting occasions—when riding in tube carriages, travelling up escalators, waiting for buses, or standing about stations. Here again the creative force in advertising has its vital part to play.

Posters have therefore increased in importance as an advertising media due to shortage of newspaper and of newsprint. Their role has not changed. They are essentially one-purpose instruments—their task is to convey a single message, to act as a firm reminder. Their power lies in the domination of their design, the concentration in which they are displayed, and in the constant repetition of the message that they

My Goodness



*All out for
record steel output!*

G E 1415 A

Greater courage hath no advertiser

Wm. W. W.

BOVRIL

puts **BEEF**
into you



Winter after winter, for over 50 years,
millions of people have been comforted and cheered by
Bovril, the concentrated goodness of beef. When
you are cold, Bovril is warming. When you are tired,
Bovril is sustaining. When you are depressed there's
nothing bucks you up like a cup of hot Bovril.

*There's a lot of BEEF
in a little BOVRIL*

IN BOTTLE — 1 oz. 10d. 2 oz. 1/6d. 4 oz. 2/9d. 8 oz. 4/10d. 16 oz. 8s.

RM 13

Humorous theme — whimsical presentation

carry. They cannot be used to carry long explanatory passages, and they must not be used in coveys on odd street corners.

For instantaneous effect the use of posters in great numbers is difficult to rival, as the great instrument of assertion. When it is possible to say 'Guinness is Good for You' or 'Good mornings begin with Gillette' and to leave it at that, then the poster is twice as valuable as when it is used in connection with a product which has to be 'explained' in more detail.

While the primary importance of the Press as an advertising medium under normal circumstances is not to be denied, it is dangerous to establish a rigid system of priorities. The use of a number of different media gives a sense of universality which is an extremely powerful advertising argument. This point has been brought out very forcibly during recent years when Press coverage has been scanty.

The search for other advertising media beyond Press and posters has met with varying success. The British advertising film is no longer in its infancy, but it remains one of the most gawky children. There are two reasons for this. In the first place, advertising during a film programme amounts to an intrusion into the leisure hours of the audience. In this country this is resented.

A clear example of this type of resentment occurred—not in connection with films—but over an incident at a football match when an M.P. was appealing to men to join the Territorial Army. He was unable to conclude his speech, not because he was personally unpopular, not because he was appealing for a

distasteful cause, but because he was interrupting the pleasure time of his audience without giving them anything in exchange. 'This is our afternoon', they shouted. The fact that if they did eventually fail to join the Territorial Army they would spend a good many afternoons on the battlefield instead of the football field did not influence them—and is not relevant to our argument here.

If advertising is brought into pleasure periods it must itself bring pleasure, it must offer some performance, 'promoted by the makers of Kolynos Toothpaste'. If, however, Kolynos Toothpaste is the sole justification for the intervention, then that intervention and Kolynos Toothpaste will not be well received.

Only a few British advertising films succeed in getting away with it without a groan from the audience. These are the ones that provide good entertainment with the minimum advertising intervention. Now it can reasonably be agreed that when that intervention reaches a certain minimum it is no longer an economic proposition, nor a particularly sound advertising medium. My own conclusion is that the persuasive power of films is one that is not suited to direct advertising.

British advertising films are no advocates for an opposing point of view because of the very low order of their production and direction. They would appear to be relegated for the most part to those who are trying out their hands for the first time or those who have already tried them out on greater tasks and failed.

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Such is the nature of the British film industry to-day that a virtual monopoly makes it impossible to produce better films and get them shown, and no advertiser particularly wants an advertising film for private distribution in the works canteen.

This is a serious consideration for the advertising executive in planning the media for any campaign. It means that he must either accept the low standard of production available and have a film that will be widely seen, or he must take the risk of producing a film according to his standards that only a few people will be able to see. If the advertising executive is wise he will recommend no film at all, unless he is absolutely certain that he has stumbled upon one of those exceptional cases of a good British advertising film.

Commercial radio must pass the same entertainment test as the advertising film—it must give as well as take. There is no commercial radio system in this country, and the conditions at present prevailing make the use of Radio Luxemburg and such other stations as can be heard somewhat unsatisfactory.

The great success of commercial radio in the United States is yet another example of the different view that is taken of advertising in that country. Advertising is, in fact, accepted at the fireside, whereas here it is resented.

The advertising message in radio is carried by the 'commercial', which is a cross between advertising copy, American journalese, and a verbal poster. It is a technique which has never been used really successfully here, largely because people do not talk like that.

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If commercials really sounded like normal conversation, then they would be much more successful. The fact that American commercial radio has been so successful has misled British advertising agents to the mistaken conclusion that to be successful they, too, must pretend to be American, an illusion shared by many British dance hall singers and film stars.

Little need be said about the advertising slide except that it has been proved to be much more effective than most people would assume. Generally speaking the advertising that is most successful on slides is that which can be compressed into a simple word or sentence, 'Milton for Burns', or that which is of definite local interest, such as a notice about a football match.

There is the same danger of intrusion on pleasure hours in showing a slide at a cinema as there is a film, with this difference. A slide is regarded as something that comes on during an interval, advertising slides having been introduced in theatres. It does not command attention in the same way as a speech—it can, in fact, quite easily be ignored while other activities are pursued, such as eating sweets. A slide only appears for a moment and does not give the impression of taking up time for which the audience has paid.

These are the main resources at the disposal of the advertising executive who must fit them into the plan which he must place before the advertiser for his approval. Although there may be exceptional products and exceptional occasions, it can reasonably be stated, with the reservation covering universality, that the priority medium is the Press and that the poster is the chief supporting arm of the Press. The other supporting

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arms are only of incidental importance. The reason for this is that both the Press and the poster are natural and authentic media and are accepted, and provided they are not abused, unresented in the daily life of men and women.

The advertising executive must concern himself with one other set of relative media which can be summed up under the heading, Point of Sale and Sales Promotion Material. They are relative media because they fall half within the sphere of advertising and half within that of the sales organisation. The main difference in function between advertising and point of sale activity is that advertising sensitises the potential customer—point of sale attracts him on the spot so that he takes final action.

‘Advertised goods must be good’—that phrase implies the confidence that advertising builds up. That confidence displays itself when the customer in the shop sees and buys the product which he has read about in the paper and on the hoardings. Good point of sale material links up with the advertising so that the chord is struck at the appropriate moment. It is an association of ideas that leads to action.

All advertising should lead towards point of sale—either by inference or by direction—all point of sale must relate in character to advertising. That is an essential co-operation.

Similarly, the style and presentation of all forms of sales-aids—the literature issued to travellers and retailers, the catalogues and manuals—must be in keeping with the style and character of the advertising. This is an acknowledgment of the family nature of the

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whole edifice; it is also an unconscious acceptance of the importance of the team spirit which is the basis of morale.

The character of a man is reflected in his handwriting, and the character of any great organisation is, or should be, reflected in its advertising and kindred activity.

That is why the creative force in advertising is what really matters. No amount of accurate analysis, no degree of skilful handling, no measure of sound planning on the part of the advertising executive is of the slightest value if the creative work which goes forward is undistinguished and uninspired. Words, carefully and rightly chosen, used with artistry to effect. Words, employed to convey an over-riding theme devised to meet a correctly analysed demand. Words, drilled into formation yet free in clearest expression. These are the masters and at the same time the servants of great advertising.

Listen to these sentences from the Chrysler campaign of 1937:

WE SHALL NOT BE TIRED
WHEN WE MEET YOU
WE SHALL NOT BE LATE!

Two hundred miles since morning. Two hundred miles to go. Four hundred miles of wet roads, rough roads, steep roads, narrow roads. Four hundred miles of sweet, safe, silent, exhilarating speed.

Our engine has six cylinders with seven-bearing counter-weighted crankshaft—for smooth effortless power!

Our brakes are hydraulic, internal expanding—weather-proof, non-skidding!

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Our springs are long—wide-set—anchored in blocks of live rubber to the frame!

WE ARE COMING IN THE CHRYSLER!

In contrast the advertisement for Marsh & Baxter achieves its purpose on grounds of straightforward interest coupled with sound, crisp copy-writing.

That is classic advertising copy because it conveys atmosphere and through atmosphere conviction. It communicates.

Communication is the result of the right appeal conceived and written in the right way. The astonishing thing is that while it must be obvious to most people that style and the use of words is what constitutes the difference between great prose and any other prose, there are many who fail to appreciate the necessity for this quality in advertising.

Almost any industrialist is prepared to alter advertising copy without the slightest regard for style. That is because he does not understand the difference between an advertisement and a sales leaflet, and not infrequently the reason he does not is the fault of the advertising executive. The industrialist is the best judge as to the accuracy of any statement of fact concerning his product. The copy-writer is the best judge as to how that statement ought to be made.

In the generation of creative force, words are inseparably linked with their method of presentation. This may be a matter of straightforward typography, it may be the most complex of all processes. But under all circumstances that presentation must be allowed to play its part with a free hand, provided always that

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it does not forget what that part is. While commercial art should never forsake art for commerce, it must not similarly forget commerce in the pursuit of art. It is a delicate and sometimes difficult partnership. Only too often it breaks down in one direction or the other.

Genius knows no blue-prints and no one ever thought of laying down 'rules for writing the Ninth Symphony'. Similarly there is no exact method of creating great advertising. There are quite a number of methods, which are too often practised, of creating undistinguished advertising.

For this the Americans are oddly enough to blame—oddly because they have given so much to advertising and because the present conditions under which they work, with no paper restrictions, ought to enable them to promote distinction rather than mediocrity.

The fact is that most American advertising to-day is mediocre. The production is excellent, the space is lavish, the paper in many cases of fine quality, but the advertising is dull because it is uniform in design.

What American advertising needs to-day is a 'Romantic Revolution'. American advertising men have bemused themselves and befuddled themselves with too much science. They elaborate by means of 'copy-testing'. They have decided exactly where the headline of every advertisement should come to 'pull' best. They have settled on sizes of type and the best position for copy on each advertisement. They have laid down rules as to the MUSTS for each advertisement. There must be 'product identification'—i.e. the

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product must be illustrated in each advertisement. The price must be shown—in a certain place and in a certain size type. There must be uniformity of name block in all advertisements and it must again be a certain size.

All this—and I admit that I have exaggerated a little—is mistaking the means for the end. It is, to use an Americanism, all ‘fooey’.

These mechanical devices are important, they are relevant, but they must never be all-important and over-riding.

The Americans lay down that an advertisement must consist of: the STOPPER, which is the basic appeal. The HEADLINE, which they recommend should contain the words HOW TO in order to be really effective. The COPY which contains the story and sales appeal. The FOOTLINE, which must be an injunction to action. The PRODUCT, which *MUST* be illustrated, and the PRICE.

No one will deny that this is a comprehensive catalogue of what can be fitted into an advertisement, and as a catalogue it would probably be given by the American School of Business Philosophy or whatever high-sounding institution chose to ask the question and correct the answers.

But advertising is NOT mechanics; it is NOT ‘cataloguery’; it is NOT a recipe book for pie in the sky. It is a human process and as such it is subject to all the vagaries of human nature. Advertising never stands still—or should not—it must develop with the times; more important than that it must develop the times. Advertising can and must create taste and habit.

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It must therefore pioneer, and no pioneer ever succeeded on text-books, nor did any explorer ever win fame by riding in a double-decker bus along Piccadilly.

This is not an incitement to advertising to run amok. The purpose of an advertisement must not be forgotten even under the greatest emotional or inspirational stress. Every advertisement must attract attention, inspire interest and compel action, either physical or spiritual action. Further than that I am not prepared to go—and further than that no advertising copy-writer or artist would want to accompany me, unless he were a twopenny hack, in which case I would not desire his company.

Let us revert to the main principle of advertising—Domination. Domination must be achieved creatively and it is the creative form as much as the 'copy angle' of an advertisement that gives it Domination.

The scheme sponsored by Gillette Industries before the war entitled 'Men of self-respect' is a fine example of creative work that is in keeping with the product. The clean and decisive illustrations, the almost clinically sharp lettering give the smooth and refreshing feeling that a man who has had a really good shave appreciates.

Similarly, and in a sense more subtly, Wolsey have done the same entirely through the technique of presentation. There is no lengthy explanation, simply the statement 'starred for sheerness'. It is to appreciate that this type of advertisement is equally successful in the restricted space of the national newspaper or enlarged and in colour on the shiny expanse of women's magazines printed on art paper.

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In quite a different way again, Bovril, by the use of a humorous theme and a whimsical presentation, have introduced a theme which will hold its own with the Guinness advertising, emanating, incidentally, from the same stable of S. H. Benson.

Contrast the entirely different approach adopted by Gillette in what has become known as their 'Animal Scheme'. Here is a bold and brilliant campaign which achieves its object firstly because it is amusing and interesting, secondly because it is distinguished and thirdly because it is assertive. The public realise that only a great organisation would have the self-assurance to present such a campaign, and the public are therefore prepared to accept the product of such an organisation with equal assurance. Gillette with this scheme makes the public feel good towards them and that makes the job of the salesman and the retailer a hundred times easier.

All these advertisements, and there are many others that come to the mind, achieve their purpose because they are artistically distinguished and because they are based on inspired themes. Here again it redounds to the credit of Sir William Crawford that he was the first man in British advertising to realise the importance of bringing first-class artists into that field, and what is more, he gave them their head often at the cost of arduous struggles with his clients. His competitors have not been slow to follow his example and the result has benefited both them and British advertising.

It must be quite clear to anyone who gives the matter a moment's thought that such results as we

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have discussed could never be achieved within a cast-iron structure designed on the advice of 'Ad-statistician' and 'Quizzers'. Advertising must have natural elegance, it cannot be brought up in whalebone stays.

Finally, 'Advertising' is a process—it is not a collection of single advertisements inserted sporadically on the whim of the advertiser or, worse still, of his artistically-minded daughter or intellectual wife. Great advertising campaigns are those based upon a theme. Great advertising themes are arrived at as a result of the close collaboration of the executive and his creative colleagues. Such themes take into consideration the claims of the product, but, above all, they are concerned with the natural desires of people. To eat and to drink, to be admired by the opposite sex and envied by one's own sex, to get on in the world. These are the positive desires of men and women. Fear of being looked down on or of being an outcast from society, fear of doing the wrong thing, jealousy of the success of others. These are the negative attitudes with which advertising is also concerned.

The appeal to these can be direct or by inference—it can be made through the senses or through the intellect or through a combination of both. Timely words, and accomplished artistry, know how to play on both. The experienced advertising executive knows which tune to play and when to play it. To him is given the power to create and to destroy habits. With his hands he touches the raw material of all propaganda and persuasion. He deals with men and women and their most elemental desires. He grows to understand the reasons why men act and why they hold back.

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Advertising, despised by the intellectual, rejected by the politician, patronised by the business man, has within it the key to power within a free society. Professor Bartlett knows that—so do I—but only a very few other people have reached a similar conclusion.

CHAPTER 5

My Brother's Keeper

ADVERTISING IN ITS COMMERCIAL ROLE IS CONCERNED with the 'raw materials' of persuasion. It appeals to people through their primary emotions to buy things which will satisfy their human and physical needs. That is why Professor Bartlett is right in his assessment of advertising as a function. That is why we have chosen to regard the methods of advertising as constituting a primer of persuasion.

We can now go one step further, and it is an important step, to study advertising in its role as 'educator', or, to use a somewhat totalitarian phrase, as minister of public enlightenment.

This is a very logical step and it is in keeping with our present social development. We have learned to sell bread, but as man cannot live by bread alone we must now learn to sell him something else, namely, ideas and a way of life. This opens the way to the criticism that this is a vulgarian order in which to put things—that the ideas and way of life ought to be the first consideration. On the other hand, we can soundly argue that without bread no way of life and no ideas. And as practical men and women we are unquestionably right.

We live in a society which is undergoing considerable change. This is no bad thing. A static society becomes stagnant, like static water. For the fortunate,

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for the men in power, static societies are comfortable, but for the remainder they are dreary, unimaginative and frustrating.

The result of two wars, not a little industrial unrest, and an international situation which has never been undisturbed, has been to make men think. Over the last thirty years the basis of society has been broadening and self-determination has become a very real desire. Capitalist society in its old rigid form has evaporated; rigid social divisions no longer exist, the sanctions of birth and privilege have been swept away; so much the better for democracy, provided that the new society that is created is in fact democratic.

We are back again at the problem which we faced up to earlier on, of the collapse of institutional leadership. We saw then that the new leadership has had recourse to the old methods of institution. We shall now see that the new society must have recourse to many other of the traditions of the old—albeit 'writ new'.

Self-determination—that is the root of our social problem. If 'Democracy' is to be an organic society then every member of that society must be in a position to play his or her part in every sphere of its activity. That is what self-determination means, and self-determination depends upon a scheme of education involving political and social enlightenment.

The totalitarians have realised the significance of this problem and have solved it by the ingenious and bogus doctrine of trusteeship. If anything, the Fascists and Nazis were more honest in the process. They never really pretended to rely on any kind of reference

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or deference to the will of the people, but governed because they considered themselves, in default of any contrary proof, to be the most competent people to do so. The Communist totalitarians, on the other hand, keep up a pretence at representative government which has no basis in reality and is nothing more nor less than autocracy in red letters instead of gold.

The totalitarian exercises his authority through the secret police, the concentration camp, and through a method of unilateral propaganda. He realises that men and women cannot be kept in ignorance, that they must not be denied enlightenment, so he gives them qualified knowledge and enlightenment with a bias.

None of these conditions can be allowed to exist in a democratic society, otherwise democracy becomes a sham. On the other hand, democracy, as we have seen, demands leadership. This leadership must therefore be exercised through other means.

Persuasion is the only legitimate method of exerting leadership in a democratic society. The principles which govern the democratic way of life, the ideas which promote democratic thought, the conception upon which democratic institutions are built can only be made known through the use of the instruments of enlightenment.

This is advertising in another role, socially more important, but one which calls for exactly the same approach as that employed in the selling of razor blades and chocolate.

A democratic government must therefore learn the use of advertising in its role of 'Minister of Public

World Harvests — and the Pig

1948 harvests were bumper everywhere.

Is there really a world shortage of feeding stuffs?

Or have the Danes, the Poles and the Hungarians (all over-run in the war) got in ahead of us?

For pig food is the problem in Britain — not pigs or pig houses or bacon factories.

Given the food we could treble the home pig-production in a year — put up the ration of bacon and have real pork sausages again (to say nothing of pies, frys, chitterlings and puddings).

Press for the food to be bought, if you want to feed better.

This isn't politics — it's plain commonsense.

Issued by

MARSH & BAXTER LTD

in the interests of National nutrition

Marsh & Baxter Ltd, Brierley Hill, makers of the famous Marsh's...

Straight-forward interest — sound crisp
copywriting

Wolsey

A pair of white nylon stockings is shown hanging from a garter. The stockings are positioned centrally, with the garter visible at the top and bottom. The background is plain white.

nylon

stockings

Wolsey Limited Leicester

Technique of Presentation

Enlightenment' if it is to succeed in putting its ideas across—as a government. This raises immediately the vexed question, which we have touched on already, as to whether a Government is entitled to use the taxpayer's money for purposes of propagating views which are not acceptable to a percentage of these taxpayers.

The answer is clearly yes—in the same way that a government is entitled to make use of the civil service and armed forces whose salaries are also paid by numbers of people who do not support the Government. The machinery of public persuasion must be an acknowledged part of the machinery of government, and the election of any political party to power automatically invests that party with the right to operate that machinery.

A democratic government, by however great a majority it may be elected, rules, as we have noted, by reason of the support of that majority and the consent of the minority. It does well, therefore, in the handling of public persuasion not to be over-partisan, otherwise it strains the relationship of consent to a point at which it may break. Once that consent breaks then free democracy collapses and totalitarian methods result.

There is plenty of scope for the exercise of partisan persuasion in political propaganda which is an important branch of persuasion, and one which must be kept separate from the public persuasion which we are now considering.

Public Persuasion can be divided under the following main heads: Social Enlightenment, Public

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Relations, and Inculcation of Morale. The dividing line between the three activities is extremely delicate.

‘Social Enlightenment’ is the process of putting people in the picture with a view to obtaining their co-operation. ‘Public Relations’ is the process of getting that co-operation. ‘Morale’ is the individual and corporate state of mind and body which ensures the allegiance of a community to a cause under all circumstances.

With the increase of direct government influence over social, economic and industrial life, the demand for which is acknowledged by all intelligent political organisations, the necessity for Public Enlightenment has automatically increased. The result has been seen in a number of Government campaigns which have met with varying degrees of success.

Summing up those which have appeared since 1945, it would not be unfair to say that in only a few instances have they reached the heights, and in quite a number they have plumbed new depths. There has been a general failure to apply the lessons already learned from commercial advertising, the most important of which is that a successful appeal is one which establishes a community of interest between the speaker and his audience.

The verdict on Government advertising from 1945 must be that it has been too much of a collection of sermons. People are sick of being preached at in a ‘pie’ tone and they do not react any better to the alternative method of threats.

The monument to bad psychology is that deplorable message, ‘We work or want’. Apart from the fact that

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it did not read particularly well coming on the heels of the Utopian promises made at the General Election of 1945, it was not the right way to inspire effort. A Government must assume responsibility for leadership, and democratic leadership is not conducted with a whip from behind.

The qualities of leadership must therefore be displayed in all propaganda for public enlightenment. This demands first of all that the Government (through its relevant department) must speak as a person to the people. This 'personification' and personal touch has been singularly absent in much that has been done over the past five years.

There are three kinds of Government campaigns which fall under the head of Social Enlightenment. There are the purely informative campaigns which aim to explain the necessity for any particular legislation on the existence of any state of affairs. There are those which are concerned with habits—the desire to produce more, the readiness to save more, the willingness to take care on the road. Finally there are those which are direct appeals to promote activities—join the Territorial Army, become a miner, enlist in the Women's Land Army.

The most direct has been the straightforward 'Jobs' and 'Pay' campaign. This campaign for which large space hoardings were used relies on its appeal by the use of the two words which have a very direct and real interest for everyone—'Jobs' and 'Pay'. After these words comes the following explanation:

PAY—It will buy more when we make more and make it at lower cost.

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JOBS—The danger to full employment is not producing too much, but producing too little—and too dear.

It is a campaign without frills—economics for all—and a direct answer to propaganda being used against the Government by certain unscrupulous forces whose orders are received from elsewhere. It is good straight talking. It is an appeal to self-interest and to reason, and it makes none of the mistakes of 'We work or want'. It represents enlightened leadership. It puts people in the picture.

And there our unqualified praises must stop for a moment while we consider an appeal to habit—Road Safety. Apart from the Government's propaganda for the Territorial Army there has been no more unsuccessful collection of campaigns. There was the 'black widow' poster which was a gruesome attempt to make use of the fear of death. It succeeded in upsetting the susceptibilities of a great many people, especially when many women had been in mourning as a result of the war.

Those who would defend it point out the attention that was paid to it. Let us dispose of that argument once and for all. It is true that indifference is the mark of the greatest failure in propaganda, but that does not necessarily justify propaganda that creates an adverse impression. The simple question that has to be asked is, 'What is the object of the propaganda'. It may be to attract attention, to destroy apathy, to create hostility or to convince by argument. The first two purposes demand some kind of follow-up—they are, in fact, no more than publicity. The second two are propaganda processes in themselves.

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For instance, you can drive a farm tractor on to the floor of a noted London hotel. This will attract attention—it will undoubtedly destroy the apathy of the hotel management, but it will not of itself sell tractors. The people who want tractors are farmers and they don't want them for use on hotel dance floors.

A campaign for road safety must, above all, convince by argument. If it desires to dispel apathy it must do so in such a way that it does not at the same time create antipathy. If it does it will cancel out—and that is exactly what the 'widow' poster did. As a poster for 'Grand Guignol', 'Maria Martin', 'Sweeney Todd', or a hoarding at the door of the Chamber of Horrors at Madame Tussauds it would have been a hundred per cent success.

The 'widow' was succeeded by the 'traffic jymp', a horrid, meaningless little creature that someone fondly imagines is a relation of Mr. Therm. If he is, then it is one of the skeletons in the Therm cupboard, of which that magnetic personality has no reason to be proud.

To make matters worse, the sayings of Jymp predominate in the campaign. It is, in fact, an invitation to people to rush across roads, jump off pavements, and swerve from buses. This is as badly conceived a campaign as any we have had the misfortune to pay for under Government direction.

Finally, a tiresome, trite little slogan, 'Mind how you go', has been incorporated—the relic of a quite different campaign. Now there was never anything more irritating than to be told 'mind how you go',

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it is the admonition of a maiden aunt or a nursery governess. The trouble is that there are far too many maiden aunts and nursery governesses on the job. The reaction to such an admonition is to go twice as fast, to run across bigger and wider roads, and to swerve more dangerously and far more excitingly.

Another communal habit is National Savings, about which there has been a degree of controversy which not one of the campaigns has endeavoured to answer. Nevertheless National Savings Campaigns have been amongst the most successful yet launched, with the unfortunate exception of the very unreal 'pie-faced' conversation between men and women aimed at recruiting 'National Savings' wardens. These fall into the 'blush-making' class of advertisement.

An interesting comparison in psychological approach is provided by the two 'White Elephant' posters. The first—an original—is sound. The reaction is that no one wants the beastly elephant at any cost. The second—the afterthought—is completely unsound. The reaction is one of pity for the elephant. People want to pat it on the trunk and take it home. The interesting point here is that anyone who knew what they were doing could have produced the second poster. The first, by the way, was cribbed from South Africa. The second is presumably a British production.

These isolated posters are single ideas—unco-ordinated, and consequently they cannot be regarded as having any cumulative appeal. In addition, there have been the Owl, the Pussy Cat, and the Golden Galleons. There is no handwriting and there is no personal or physical appeal. They are a Christmas

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card collection—a delight for old ladies. There is a touch of the amateur which is strongly out of place in such a campaign.

Much can be forgiven National Savings now that they have produced 'Everyone has someone worth saving for'. This is the absolute answer to the problem. It is 'bang on'.

Of all recent posters, the little girl in the series is amongst the most immediately effective and successful. The direct poignant strength of the appeal is vital and compelling. It is communication. It is a clarion call to action. It should succeed.

The appeals to take action are myriad, and this is the first criticism. Too much is being attempted at once. There is no timing—no priorities. On neighbouring or even the same hoarding may be seen the conflicting appeals to join the Miners, the Women's Land Army, the W.A.A.F., the Regular Army. No wonder people get tired of all these exhortations and do little about them.

We will confine our attention here to the appeals to join the services, regular and voluntary, but before doing so it is worth smiling a little at the appeal to join the miners which was exhibited in Bond Street. Was it humour, cynicism, the shape of things to come, or just plain stupidity? I suspect the last.

Of all the service appeals, the Navy with the simplest task has been the most apt. The R.A.F. flies past next, with the Army trudging painfully along behind.

The Household Cavalry have proved a distinguished exception with an exciting poster by Games. The

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Irish Guards on the other hand are responsible for a terrifying exhibit.

In the Press the Navy have used an informative approach treated in a conversational style, which has been both interesting and convincing. In 1948 a delightful series of posters began to appear showing the Navy at work in overseas posts—by telling by inference the open life and the experience of world travel.

The R.A.F. have adopted an appeal to self-respect. 'My aircraft', says the young man, looking up as the plane flies over. 'They trust me in the R.A.F.', says the L.A.C. in the control tower. Psychologically, it is a good approach to exactly the type of man the R.A.F. requires.

The Army have also tried the Navy's approach in a conversational treatment. The trouble is that the conversations were so unreal as to be plain silly, and they will interest few people and convince less. Whoever wrote them must have been looking at the world through thick horn-rimmed spectacles from a reserved occupation.

We now touch rock bottom with the T.A. recruiting publicity. There are two posters for comment. The first poster was of a young lance-corporal doing up his anklet—a tiresome procedure at the best of times—and baldly exhorting his fellows to join the new T.A. 'in order to help to keep the peace we're fighting to win'. Added to this is the information that the new T.A. is nine Divisions strong. To which one supposes the appropriate answer is 'Coo!'

The best that can be said about the poster is that it

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is innocuous and offends no one, except those trying to build the new T.A. under difficult conditions thus made more difficult through ineptitude. The *pièce de résistance*—and resistance is the right word—is provided by its successor, which I shall dub 'The Burglar and the Spiv'. This atrocious creation offends every single canon of design and law of advertising, and I have caused it to be reproduced here as the example of how not to produce a poster.

Let us tear it to pieces limb by limb. First the appeal. This is carried by the two figures who illustrate the message, 'The men we need to take the lead'. This is just what they are not. Either would be an embarrassment to the C.O. of a good T.A. unit. They are certainly not the sort of people who would encourage others to join them.

On further examination we find that the appeal for this campaign is not 'The men we need to take the lead', but 'Spare time for Britain', which is also included on the poster. Two messages on one poster with the main appeal subordinated both in position and in emphasis and treatment to the secondary appeal.

Finally, a row of medals is displayed, and the one medal which is worn by the type of men particularly required by the T.A. is omitted—the T.A. Efficiency Medal.

There is nothing more to be said about the poster except to observe that even the production—the colouring and the lettering—are bad and depressing.

No responsible advertiser would ever sponsor such a poster in any campaign, and no advertising agency who wants to hold his account would ever put it up to him.

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We have taken random examples of campaigns for social enlightenment, and it must be clear to any fair-minded person that such a process must of necessity be open to criticism. It is perfectly easy to take things out of context and to show only what is bad, ignoring what is good. We have chosen these subjects not to build up a case against the organisation which promoted them, but in order to assemble material which will enable us to reach some sound conclusions with regard to the conduct of a practice that is still young in development.

The mechanics of Social Enlightenment are in the hands of the Central Office of Information, which is the descendant of the war-time Ministry of Information. This organisation has inherited quite naturally, but somewhat unfairly, much of the general unpopularity of its predecessor. The M. of I. had, in its function of censor, a distasteful job to do. It was one of the things that irked a people who were given by tradition to the free expression of their views and thoughts. Moreover, the M. of I. was associated in the public mind with the counter-activity to Dr. Goebbels, and while the public realised that such activity was an essential task of war, they were slightly ashamed of it.

The C. of I. has none of these censorial duties to perform. The fact that it has been withdrawn from the ministerial shop-window while removing it from the more violent barrages of attack has tended to give it a more sinister and 'back-room boy' character. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The C. of I. is now little more than a mechanical instrument of

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organisation. Under the conditions of society which we have described it is an essential instrument. In a sense its role towards other ministerial departments is the same as that of the executive in an advertising agency towards his clients. As such, the C. of I., like the executive, must be impresario. This is admittedly a difficult task for a Civil Service department, which of its very nature and composition is not given to imaginative and emotional activities.

The valid criticism of the C. of I. is that it is not a creative organisation and it tends to conduct advertising by committee. All experience shows that good advertising cannot be conducted successfully by committee. The committee approach destroys by a persistent process of erosion all individuality and character, it creates an atmosphere which withers the artist's inspiration and destroys his soul. No committee of poets ever wrote 'Paradise Lost', and no musicians' association composed the 'Dream of Gerontius'.

All this inevitably means that mediocrity in all its dreary colours must walk the stage unhindered, boring its audience and giving satisfaction only to itself.

The charge that the C. of I. becomes the lackey of the Party in power is inevitably made by those who are not in power and it must for that reason be treated with reserve. So long as government propaganda is concerned directly with constructive government legislation, so long as political parties are not brought into it either directly or by implication, it is justifiable so long as party politics are justified. The importance of the C. of I. has not escaped the professional eye of Mr. Herbert Morrison who, in his role of Lord

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President of the Council, is responsible for its activities. Mr. Morrison's activities must not escape the eye of his opponents.

Where the C. of I. has failed, and the record of its achievement is by no means a success story, it has failed because it is far too much a remote-control organisation. It has all the ramifications of the Goebbels machine, but none of its power, apart from the power of very considerable delay; it has become more an additional link in an already lengthy chain—and an expensive bureaucratic trapping. This is a criticism of the conditions under which it has to work rather than of the C. of I. itself.

The C. of I. should be given far greater powers of decision to implement the requirements of the various Ministries. The Ministries, like only too many business men and industrialists, think they know better than their advisers. Where they are dealing with the C. of I. they are in a strong position because they are dealing with an executive and not a policy making department, which is to all intents and purposes of the same kidney as themselves. Through the ensuing mesh of argument and office tape the advertising campaign, the exhibition, or the film has to be born. No wonder it often has a weak emaciated look.

This remote control, committee system can never hope to produce great creative work, and it is most unlikely that it will produce great campaigns of any kind because it is not sensitive to the requirements of those to whom it is appealing. By reason of its impersonality it has no personal touch, it can therefore never hope to touch people.

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Social Enlightenment could almost be called a strategical process, whereas Public Relations is essentially a tactical one.

Earl Newsom, lecturing the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, said this:

'People will give us their favourable attention to the extent that the information we want them to have is expressed or pointed up in terms of what it means to people—in terms of progress towards solutions of *their* problems—*their* hopes, *their* desires.'

'And people will give us more and more of their respect and confidence if our public actions, the positions our companies take in public, leave the impression:

'This is my kind of company, going my way, taking leadership in the steady progress towards a better world for all of us.'

Newsom defines five yardsticks by which all public relations should be judged:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| 1. GOING OUR WAY | that the institution or individual wants what we want. |
| 2. POSITIVE LEADERSHIP | that the institution or individual is told positive actions. |
| 3. MY KIND OF PEOPLE | not a cold impersonal institution. |
| 4. HOPEFULNESS | promise of achievement. |
| 5. TOWARDS A BETTER TO-MORROW | eye on the future. |

There speaks one of the greatest authorities on his subject, addressing one of the greatest organisations interested in that subject in a country not ignorant of the significance of that subject. Earl Newsom—

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the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey—the United States of America.

There can be no clearer and no more authoritative statement on the role of 'public relations' as exemplified in the contact between an industry or a great commercial organisation and the public.

There is, of course, the other side of public relations which concerns the internal relations between those working within an industry. These are no less 'public relations' because an external public relations policy which has no regard to the internal relations policy will just not work out.

Take for an example a great transport organisation such as London Transport. Part of the public relations policy at one point was to exhibit the slogan, 'Courtesy aids service', which is a two-way appeal both to staff and customers. If the conductors are surly and insult the passengers, if the station porters shout offensively, if the bus drivers fail to stop, or start off before everyone is aboard, the slogan will mean nothing and will, in fact, recoil on its originators. Yet these things will happen if the London Transport organisation is not happy within itself, men are bound to become ill-tempered and dissatisfied and they will fail to co-operate in any general policy of service.

'Public relations' is therefore a two-way process concerned with the relations between an organisation and the public and the relations between the various units within the organisation.

This has become the age of the public relations officer and it is therefore very relevant to study the activities of his executive.

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Public relations is an attitude of mind. A public relations officer would appear to be someone who is concerned with an attitude of mind from which one would infer that he has a sound knowledge of psychology and its allied subjects.

Public relations cannot be safely divorced from either works relations, welfare, managerial policy, nor yet again from sales and advertising policy. Our public relations officer has therefore to be experienced in all these subjects.

The public relations officer is basically an advisory and not an executive official. He cannot operate independently of any of the departments that I have mentioned. The need for men in purely advisory capacities is very small once the advice they have to give is common knowledge. Except in the very large organisations where a degree of co-ordination is required there can be no real need for a public relations officer provided that the management are aware of the importance and practice of internal industrial relations and the sales and advertising department understand external public relations.

'Public relations' is a subject that must be mastered by every industrial executive, salesman and advertising man. No one will pretend that this is the case to-day, and until it is, the empire of the public relations officer will flourish, but its end is already in sight.

An almost analogous position arose during the last war with welfare officers. At one time there was a 'welfare cult' which suggested that it was necessary to have special officers to safeguard the welfare of the

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men. This was an abominable perversion of one of the most important functions of leadership. Every leader must be a welfare officer. The only real function of a welfare officer should be to purvey darts boards, footballs, and woolly comforts. If he goes beyond that he is a usurper, and the leader who allows this usurpation is a failure and ought to be sacked.

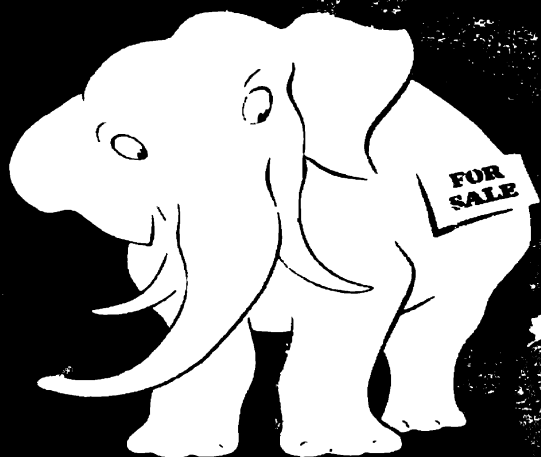
These observations on the subject of public relations officers must not be taken in any way to minimise the importance of public relations. In a society which has developed in the ways which we have been considering it is imperative that every major industrial, commercial and public enterprise should be conducted with a close regard to this subject.

It is no new subject—it is only the application of it that is new. It is a subject with which those who have been responsible for commanding men in battle and in the forces have had to study from one aspect or another since Michael cast Satan out of heaven.

In an earlier chapter we considered the implications of political leadership under modern conditions. The political leaders have much to learn from the military men—-not in terms of saluting and jackboots—-but on this important topic of public relations and of morale which is so closely linked with it. And what the political leaders have to learn applies also to those who are the controllers of industry and who hold other positions of authority in the social order.

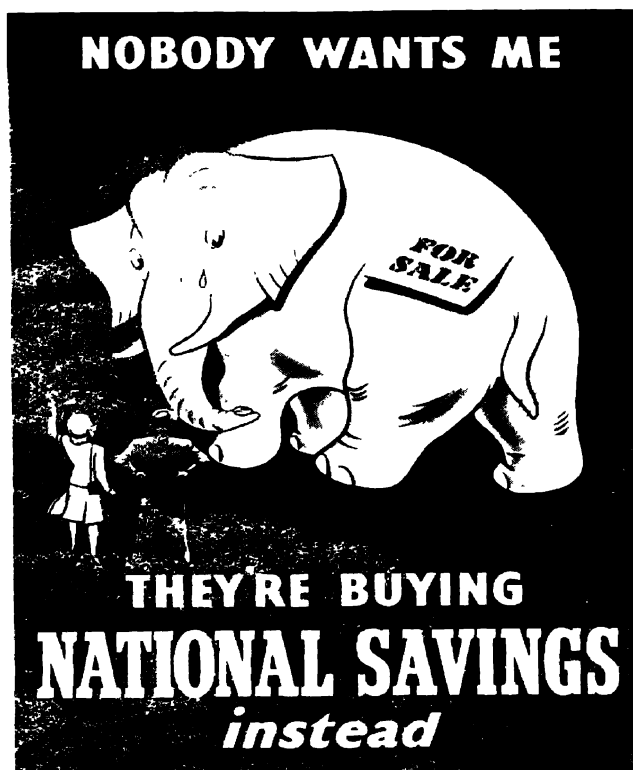
Military leadership operates under what are paradoxically the most difficult and at the same time the easiest of all conditions. It handles human nature in the raw, but at the same time it handles it under the

IF YOU DON'T NEED IT - DON'T BUY IT !



**Buy
NATIONAL SAVINGS
instead**

Bad elephant - Good poster



Sad elephant --- Bad poster

sanction of that greatest of all forces, the fear of death and its positive counterpart, the desire for self-preservation.

It would be absurd to suggest that every soldier is continuously thinking about this somewhat depressing eventuality. Moreover, the periods during the average soldier's life, even in these present uncivilised times, when he is actually in mortal jeopardy, are not considerable. At the same time soldiering, and the term must be taken to cover all forms of service activity, is elementally concerned with the gentle art of killing and of avoiding being killed. Viewed in this brutal light, it is not unreasonable to demand the highest qualities of leadership in the leaders, and the fullest measure of co-operation and obedience from those who are led.

The conditions of modern warfare have changed the character of military leadership in the same way that social conditions have changed the character of the leadership required in society. The qualities displayed by Henry V, by Francis Drake, by Prince Rupert, Marlborough and Wellington are still the qualities of leadership required, but they must be displayed in a different way. The mechanism of warfare has tended to make leadership a more remote and impersonal thing in so far as the high command is concerned.

That is a dangerous tendency, and the danger is increased when the gulf is widened by unimaginative and unintelligent work on the part of the staff. A bad staff can very quickly destroy the personal power of leadership in a commander because troops automatically associate the commander with his staff,

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whom they classify under the generic heading of 'brass hats'.

The most evil of all the corruptions of a staff officer is the use of his commander's name in vain. In this way he can enforce his own petty and often ill-advised decisions on regimental officers with far greater experience and of higher rank than himself. If they are wise they will challenge him. This leads to difficulties because the commander concerned is then faced with the desirability of supporting his staff. Furthermore, the regimental officer has enough on his hands fighting the enemy without starting a war against the staff.

The bad staff officer is the one who regards himself as the master of the units under his formation's command. The good staff officer is their servant and the mouthpiece of his commander. A commander therefore must be very careful in the selection of his staff because he will be interpreted by them to his troops on many occasions when he cannot be there himself.

Field-Marshal Montgomery of all commanders in the last war went to great pains to put himself across to his troops. He was, in fact, criticised for this very largely by those who were of a more orthodox school of military procedure and by those who envied his success. No one can, however, deny that success, after all, is one of the most important achievements of any military leader.

There is no doubt at all that the personality of 'Monty' was a great stimulant to the morale of his troops. His presence was an augury of victory. His studied irregularities, which would have been offensive and even ridiculous in any other commander, pleased his men and made them feel that here was a man who

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was unlike other men and who knew how to deal with any situation.

In direct contrast was the figure of Field-Marshal Alexander, who could well be described as the ideal 'institutional leader' born and bred to the task, a 'regular' of the 'regulars' in the very best sense of the word. He had all the assurance of the guardsman who knew exactly what he was doing, and everyone else knew that he did.

In success, which was fortunately accorded both to Montgomery and to Alexander, it would be invidious to accord priority to either. Had they both met with failure, as their predecessors in High Command had done for reasons largely beyond their own control, it is probable that the prestige of Alexander would have suffered far less than that of Montgomery; 'Alex' would have been sustained by all the institutional traditions in which he put his trust, 'Monty' would have been denigrated by all the forces which he had for perfectly sound reasons ignored.

Field-Marshal Montgomery, realising the problems of the commander in modern war, instituted a system of personal liaison officers, holding the rank of major, who had right of access to the highest of his subordinate commanders, and brought back to him a first-hand picture of the battle. Their intrusions and the consequent breach of the normal channels of command were often resented, but there is no doubt that they served an invaluable purpose in keeping their chief completely in the picture at all times. This enabled him to maintain the unusual and individual position that he had deliberately established.

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Criticism has also been levelled at Montgomery for the amount of publicity that he was given in the Press. This is unfair. In any contest it is essential that the personality of a leader should be firmly delineated and that it should be associated in the public mind with a cause. If that is not done it is extremely difficult for the people, and for the fighting soldiers themselves, to focus their interest. 'Monty' was selected for that role, not only because he was essentially 'photogenic' in the fullest sense of the word, but also because he was in the key position for the job. There is one other reason, equally valid from the point of view of the commander himself: he was, in many things, up against tradition; he had ideas about the leadership of a great army that were novel and not altogether acceptable to the 'system' upon which the army was run. It was therefore essential for him to be assured of support from outside the military machine itself in case he found it necessary to disagree with it. He therefore established his position with the ordinary people and with the soldiery. Had the military machine attempted to dislodge him they would have met with very heavy opposition.

Anyone who attempts to criticise this conduct will do well to remember that Montgomery was commanding a people's army in its fullest interpretation. He was right to reject the more restrained processes that are unquestionably suited to a professional and regular force. Because of their application to spheres beyond the army, the lessons that Montgomery taught will be well learned by those who are in control of our political, social and industrial affairs.

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The unorthodoxy of Montgomery did not, however, stretch to the lengths of the 'lone wolf' type of leadership exemplified by such men as Lawrence in the first world war and Wingate in the last. When, in a whirl of flying metal, Lawrence crashed to his death on the road near Bulford camp, he took with him many secrets, not the least of which was the secret of the fascinating attraction of his leadership over the Arabs. It conformed to no accepted methods. It was certainly never taught at the staff college. It was, to a degree never seen before, the leadership of supreme intellect. Lord Moran has written that the art of command is the art of impressing the imagination. There are those who will quarrel with him over that definition, but not when it is applied to the command exerted by Lawrence. His leadership was a naked personal leadership for which there is not, nor ever will be, a text-book; his mould was broken at the making of him.

Then there was Wingate, that other great 'irregular', who was, incidentally, a relation of Lawrence. The originality of this man undoubtedly encouraged others to break out from the confines of orthodox doctrine that had found their smoking conclusion on the beaches of Dunkirk. There was nothing institutional about Wingate. Field-Marshal Lord Wavell wrote of him: 'His troops had full trust in his ability, but he had not the power to win their affection, though his occasional addresses, which were vivid and compelling, could stir their imagination. The truth is, I think, that he had in him such a consuming fire of earnestness for the work in hand that he could spare

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no effort to smooth or conciliate those with whom he worked.'

In lesser men such characteristics lead to disaster because their personalities cannot sustain them. They are defeated by systems and by conventions. Their road to leadership is the road of acquiescence; their password is 'Yes'. That was not the road of Lawrence and of Wingate. Both died violent deaths. Both made individual contributions, but neither of them left any pattern to be followed by another. Yet the interesting thing about them is that the character of their leadership approximated more closely to the old heroic pattern than the leadership of those who have been cumbered about with much administration and a more complex mechanism of command.

It is impossible to be dogmatic on the subject of the qualities required in the great military leader for the simple reason that he is by his very nature out of the ordinary. If his leadership is to be effective under modern conditions he must, however brilliant and however individualist he may be, impress his method upon his organisation in order that they may be consistent in transmitting it to his troops. Only in moments of extreme crisis, or of supreme triumph, is it likely that he will be able to exercise personal influence over all those with whom he has to deal. In crisis command contracts; in triumph the leader is identified in the eyes of his followers with the success that means so much to them. During the rest of the time leadership must be exercised through the normal and remote channels, and through such channels, unless they have been firmly directed, it is likely to be debased.

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The establishment for great commanders is not a considerable one, and it is important to consider the more ordinary, but none the less important, mortals who fulfil the highly important role of normal channels of command.

Character, human understanding and efficiency are unquestionably three of the most important attributes in the leader. Of these the first is ingrained, the second can be developed, although in some people this may be found to be quite impossible, and the third is a matter of training and experience. Beyond any doubt it is the strength of men's characters that fundamentally single them out as leaders, and it is important not to confuse character and personality. Character is an assembly of qualities which are inherent, but which are subject to natural development. Personality is the ability to put some or all of those qualities across, and also the ability to put some qualities across which are not really there. A man may easily have a strong character but quite a weak personality, but he can also have a strong personality but very little character. The first will be able to resist stress and strain and, in fact, under conditions of crisis he may be forced to develop his personality. The second will collapse under stress like a pricked balloon. Therefore it is character and not personality that really counts in a leader, although obviously a leader that has both character and personality—and the great leaders all have—is the best qualified.

The man of character can normally be taken as being courageous, decisive, and self-assured in varying degrees. He may lack one of those qualities and that

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will always be the weak chink in his armour through which the fatal spear of the enemy may one day penetrate. Knowledge of his weakness will be at the root of those unrestful spasms that we call complexes.

The leader who understands his men is the only one who will ultimately succeed, and this is becoming more and more true as men become more enlightened. This understanding does not mean for one moment that leaders should develop the characteristics and habits of nurse-maids; in fact, it may often involve a stiffening rather than a softening of approach according to the men concerned. It does mean the intelligent study of men individually and of their reactions as a group of any particular treatment or condition.

Whatever the developments of science may bring in the form of new equipment and new methods of warfare, the man will always be the most important factor of all. It is no reflection on the soldiers of the 1914-15 war to say that in the 1918-19 war the human element was studied far more carefully. This was due partly to the experience gained in the previous struggle and partly to the increased medical knowledge of the psychology of people.

The greatest problem in dealing with men collectively is their individual difference. There is a type of man who will frankly enjoy being handled rough because it gives him a sense of his own superiority. There is his direct opposite who is sensitive and immediately develops an inferiority complex. This problem has been solved, but not completely, by the military system of discipline. The individual cases

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remain and the wise and experienced leader alone knows how to deal with them.

'Order, Counter-order, Disorder'—how true. And how true also that inefficiency, which is the child of indecision and confused thinking, or of no thinking at all brings discontent, and general unhappiness. Young military leaders often make the mistake of thinking that a lax régime is a popular one. They soon realise their mistake when laxity brings inefficiency and the consequent castigation from above. As soon as they try to put things right then orders are resented by those who up till then had been more used to half-hearted requests.

In peace military inefficiency is deplorable—in war it is disastrous because it costs human life. There is every justification for treating an inefficient officer as a war criminal. Efficiency is the product of a mind trained to think logically and to act in an ordered way. A man who is packing a suitcase before going on holiday decides first what he will require. The logical way of doing it is to go through each outfit either from top to toe or *vice versa*. If he puts in first a waistcoat and then a pair of socks, the betting is that he will arrive at the other end without any collars, sure as fate he will forget his toothbrush.

Efficiency depends also upon delegation of authority to the right people in the right proportion. Apart from the mechanics of this operation it has an important psychological effect on those to whom the work is delegated. They feel that they are being trusted and that encourages them to play their own part with efficiency. If there is no delegation then the

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subordinate turns into a third-class clerk with no initiative and with no enthusiasm.

Efficiency breeds confidence, and confidence is the basis of all morale. Without morale no army can survive—nor can any other form of society.

Character, human understanding and efficiency—these are three great qualities of leadership. In those who are led—discipline, endurance and comradeship.

Discipline is the most maligned and by far the most important of all soldierly attributes. It is associated in the minds of the ill-informed, who are its greatest critics, with heel-clicking, hot parade grounds, shouting sergeant-majors, detention and court-martial, not to mention secret floggings and a suicide or two.

Such an attitude of mind assumes that discipline is a negative deterrent and is on a par with the conduct of the foolish parent who threatens a child with 'I'll send for the policeman'.

Discipline is essentially a positive and creative force, it is a mental and physical conditioning of the finest sort.

No one except the mean-minded and the prejudiced will grudge to the Guards their splendid traditions and their magnificent records of service. The basis of all that has been discipline of the most regimental sort. Discipline is the Greek and Latin of all military language.

There are those who criticise the parade ground and the drill movement as being a waste of time under modern military conditions. They forget that the man who has been given complete control over his mind and his body will gain in assurance when he is under

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conditions of great physical strain. The value of discipline, physically, is that it teaches men to react in the right way automatically, mentally, it relieves them of doubt as to what they ought to do. They fall into a pattern created for them from long years of experience and of trial and error.

Some men are built so that they can endure long difficult exertions, the majority are not so equipped. With the grounding of military discipline they are able to develop that endurance. It is the man who lasts longest that wins. As a nation we have tended to rely a little too much on our ability to win the last battle—in 1940 we nearly overstepped the mark. Endurance is fundamentally a quality of the mind, but without physical support it tends to become a fruitless heroic gesture, like a cripple endeavouring to struggle with a mad bull.

The 'Paratroopers of Arnhem' displayed an invincible spirit under the most adverse conditions. What really enabled so many of them to pull through was the power of endurance with which their previous training had endowed them.

The spirit of comradeship, the determination to stand by one another, is the source from which so much strength flows. In its cold psychological interpretation this is gregariousness, but it goes far deeper. It is brotherly love in the fullest and warmest sense. It is the determination of men with a common tradition, a common interest and a common aspiration to stick together. When it is exposed to frightful ordeals of battle and of hardship and of danger it is capable of touching the sublime.

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Frederic Manning, writing as 'Private 19022' in his very human book, *Her Privates We*, described the scene at the end of a long and muddy march during the 1914-18 war. 'They laid themselves down as they were to get a few hours sleep and Bourne [a private soldier], dropping off between the two of them, wondered what was the spiritual thing in them which lived and seemed even to grow stronger in the midst of beastliness.'

That is the real meaning underlying the regimental spirit because it is a human meaning. At the same time it is maintained by the many methods by which the regimental spirit is created—by distinctions of dress, regard for tradition, contests and pride in communal achievement.

If all the qualities that we have discussed are present in any military establishment, then it is safe to say that there will also be confidence and self-assurance. Upon these two depends morale, and it is with morale that we are concerned.

Just as the maintenance of morale is essential to the military community, so it is also essential to any other community. Moreover, the constituents of morale—confidence and self-assurance—are developed by different means from exactly the same qualities as are to be found in the military community.

It is the fear of things military that has concealed this fact from many whose job it is to build and direct such other communities. This again is a legacy of the fear of Fascism and all its ways which was a product of the 1930s.

Confidence is the great stabiliser of societies. When men have confidence in their leaders and in one

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another, bitterness, fear and hatred are dispelled and the disruptive influences find a barren ground in which to work. Similarly, leaders who are sure of themselves, and to a lesser degree followers who are not continuously in a state of uncertainty and anxiety, are able to build up a strong and happy community.

In the leaders character, human understanding and efficiency—in the followers discipline, endurance and comradeship—if any of these qualities is lacking, then a crack is likely to appear with the result that confidence and self-assurance are undermined and morale sinks.

It follows quite simply from this that those who wish to destroy societies of any sort can most easily do so by breaking down confidence and liquidating self-assurance, which will automatically destroy morale.

Morale is an inward and spiritual state of grace. It is the condition in which men and women are prepared to go to the end of the world together and, if necessary, to jump over the edge.

The building of morale is a more profound process than either the operation of public enlightenment or the conduct of public relations. It depends fundamentally as we have seen on the existence of certain human qualities and upon their being exercised in the right way. It also depends on the correct use of all the instruments of persuasion.

‘We shall go on to the end, we shall fight in France, we shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing strength in the air, we shall defend our island whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the landing ground, we shall fight in the hills—we shall never surrender . . .’

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These are the closing sentences of a speech that more than any other act or operation rallied the morale of the British nation. They are among the great words of history.

Similarly the words of Shakespeare, spoken through Henry V:

‘Come the four corners of the world in arms
And we will shock them.’

Right words spoken at the right moment by the right person are all powerful in the building of morale.

‘Soldiers—twenty centuries look down upon you’, cried Napoleon, and in a sentence gave his army confidence and self-assurance.

There is power also in music from the lone piper advancing across the battlefield to the massed bands of the Brigade of Guards gracing a solemn occasion. Right down the years the people have marched and danced and sung. There have been the soldiers singing ‘It’s a long way to Tipperary’ or the somewhat ill-fated ‘We’ll hang out the washing on the Siegfried Line’, or the Christians singing their hymns as they advanced to meet the lions in the Colosseum, the negro slaves treading out their weary lives in the plantations.

Music is powerful, not only through its direct sensual appeal, but also by reason of its associations and in conjunction with words. Who has not thrilled to the majestic rolling of ‘Land of Hope and Glory’ or to the soaring aspiration of ‘Jerusalem’.

‘Bring me my bow of burning gold.
Bring me my arrows of desire.
Bring me my spear. O, clouds unfold.
Bring me my chariot of fire.’

MY BROTHER'S KEEPER

I shall not cease from mental fight
Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand
Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land.'

The soul of a people can be awakened with the fanfares of trumpets and its imagination stirred by the colour of pageantry. The man who thinks he can dispense with these things will not survive long, but will be bundled off with the boredom that he has tried to impose on others.

With pageantry go all the distinction, orders and decorations and uniforms which are the trappings of morale. They must not be neglected—nor on the other hand must they be rated too highly. Napoleon III mistook the shadow for the substance. His decorations were as valuable as his bogus Empire which fell flat on its face at Sedan.

Morale is not dependent upon these activities, but the building of morale is greatly assisted by them. They bring colour and vitality with them and warmth which go to make a brighter society and one which it is easier to mould.

For that is the task with which all three arms of public persuasion are concerned—the moulding of society. This must be done, not with violent blows, as with hot iron and the anvil, but with careful sensitive hands, which must not lack the strength to execute their purpose.

CHAPTER 6

'Who'll Buy my Politics?'

WE HAVE ARRIVED ON THE FIELD OF BATTLE. We are face to face with persuasion armed to the teeth. We are in the presence of political propaganda.

The word glints with the steel of bayonets—it rocks with the barrage of artillery. There is also something sinister and secret about it—cloaks and daggers and buckets of blood.

Propaganda has been the bedfellow of the Fascists, it has become the hand-maid of the Communists, and it has suffered the fate of the unguarded amateur in the arms of the Democracies. It is desirable to sift the facts out of this welter of shattered reputations, suspicions and misconceptions. And the facts are these.

Political propaganda is a perfectly straightforward process of disseminating a political point of view. It has developed inevitably and very significantly during the present century. The reason for this has been ably summed up by Professor Bartlett:

'Whatever the inordinately rapid growth of propaganda may signify, the main reasons for it are clear and certain enough. It springs fundamentally from two closely related movements which are responsible for most of the perplexities of modern civilisation, the increasingly effective contact of social groups and the rapid spread of popular education.'



‘Bang on’



LANDMARK -

THIS is the cover of a book recently issued by the Labour Party with an "appreciation" by Mr. HAROLD LASKI.

THIS is an extract from the inside of the jacket.

To mark the centenary of its first publication in 1848, the Labour Party is issuing this important special edition of the Communist Manifesto. The Labour Party regards this statement of Marx and Engels as one of the most important documents in socialist history, which has had an immense influence on the world as it is expressed today in a variety of forms.

or BULWARK?

BUT SIR HARTLEY SHAWCROSS, M.P.
A Leading Member of the Labour Party has said :-
"The Labour Government along with other Social Democratic Movements in Europe are the real BULWARK against the spread of Communism and Fascism"

BELFAST, JANUARY 25, 1947

THUS the Labour Party hails Karl Marx's "COMMUNIST MANIFESTO" as a 'Socialist Landmark' and almost in the same breath claim to be the 'Bulwark' against it.

WHICH STORY DO YOU BELIEVE?

Counter-propaganda

‘WHO’LL BUY MY POLITICS?’

This is a view which is endorsed by Mr. A. J. Mackenzie in his book, *Propaganda Boom*:

‘The increase of education has played into the hands of propaganda and political changes have widened the field for experiment.’

Political propaganda has become an inevitable process under the conditions which the last thirty years have imposed upon our world. Rapid, violent, sweeping and exciting changes have been the order of the day. More and more people have been enabled to play their part in the building of society, and that has meant that they have had to be taken very fully into the political calculations of their leaders.

To say that political propaganda ought to have no place in our modern society is about as sensible as to denounce the use of electricity.

The real issue does not centre around the existence of political propaganda, but around the purpose for which it is used and the way in which it is used. The totalitarians use and have used propaganda in order to prepare the way for decisive actions and subsequently to ensure approval of those actions. Totalitarian propaganda—in so far as it is designed for internal consumption—does not assume any degree of effective contradiction. That is entirely in keeping with their methods of organisation and with the type of society which they aim to establish. In so far as the Nazis and the Italian Fascists were concerned, their external propaganda never succeeded in overcoming this characteristic which tended to make it ineffective and often completely ridiculous.

The Communist Party in the Soviet Union has

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been far more successful, and the activities of the 'Cominform' bear testimony to that success in many countries. It is true that the force of Russian arms has been the basic factor in the Balkan countries in Eastern Germany, and in the Far East, but it is the propaganda machine that must claim the credit for such progress as has been made in France, Italy, and in this country.

The development of propaganda as an instrument of foreign policy has been the result of Fascist and Communist activity and counter-activity, and it is a sphere into which the democracies have so far made little attempt to penetrate. The time has now come when that attitude must be revised.

That presents an immediate problem because propaganda is conducted under the democracies according to different standards. Primarily, it assumes the existence of a contrary point of view and prepares to combat it. Secondly, political propaganda under a democratic organisation relies on the sanction of argument and not on that of force. Thirdly, the democracies have always endeavoured to prevent political propaganda from penetrating either religious or educational institutions. Finally, and this is the most serious part of the problem, the practice of political propaganda under the democracies has never been as efficient as that conducted by the totalitarians.

Viewed in the light of the struggle against invading Communist propaganda, these are all potential points of weakness, although they are by no means a condemnation of democratic political propaganda designed for internal use.

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Propaganda, of its very nature, must reflect the system that it propagates. Democratic society can never be authoritarian, and all democratic propaganda must be as ready to refute argument as it is to state a positive case. This is often a difficult task because propaganda does not argue—it states.

‘I detest what you say, but I shall defend to the death your right to say it.’

That is the greatest propaganda for democracy.

There can be no question at all of supporting democratic propaganda by force—if that occurs, then a mortal blow is aimed at the whole structure of democracy. That sanction does not, and can never arise, and so far as democracy is concerned its absence is its strength.

The defence of the pulpit and the schoolroom from political propaganda is sound in principle, but its practice is more difficult because it immediately demands a definition of politics. To-day politics are becoming more and more a matter of daily life. The anti-Christian philosophy of Communism makes it the automatic enemy of the Christian Church. It could therefore be argued that a sermon condemning Communist practices was a propagandist sermon. It is interesting to remark in passing that the word propaganda had its origin in the Roman Catholic Church.

Similarly, there are interpretations of history, theories of economics, and attitudes to social development which differ according to the political allegiance of their exponents. A schoolmaster could therefore be charged with spreading political propaganda by teaching any one of these.

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The position of the Church is more easily defined than that of the school or university. 'He that is not for us is against us.' The Church ought always to proclaim its principles, and if they conflict with anything that is said by the leaders of the state, then the leaders of the state are open to criticism. This is, after all, a Christian Society. It is, nevertheless, not desirable for the Church to enter the field of political contest on issues that do not affect the life of the Church. If this occurs, then the ministers of religion become partisan and their ministry ceases to be valuable to those who do not share their views.

The difficulties of the schoolmaster are much greater—especially in the field of history and economics. The wisest thing he can do is to declare his interest immediately so that his pupils know where they stand with him. Secondly, he must be absolutely objective. He must not hide one side of the case while bringing out the other. The man who, while professing democracy, sets out to inculcate political propaganda into the minds of children commits as great a crime against democracy as those who fashioned the Hitler Jugend.

When men reach university age they can be regarded as competent to begin to make up their own minds. Provided that there is a strong stream flowing in at least two directions, there is no radical objection to political or economic bias in university teaching, although no lecturer worth the name would deliver undiluted political propaganda and no students worth lecturing would be likely to let it pass without comment. University audiences are not renowned for their passivity.

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The most serious difference between totalitarian and democratic propaganda is the unpremeditated and undeveloped nature of the latter. When the one is combating the other—and we must recognise that this is now the case—this is a disturbing state of affairs for the supporters of democracy. They will do well to study the matter with less prejudice and less intellectual fastidiousness. Intellectuals are, after all, just as vulnerable as anyone else and bleed quite as profusely when their teeth are knocked out with the butt of a rifle.

There can be no more ominous warning than that uttered by Goebbels:

‘We National Socialists have never maintained that we were representatives of a democratic viewpoint, but we have openly declared that we only made use of democratic means in order to gain power and that after the seizure of power we would ruthlessly deny to our opponents all those means which they had granted to us during the time of our opposition.’

There is only one difference between that point of view and the attitude of the Communists to-day. They profess to be democratic and they are thereby one degree less honest than Dr. Goebbels.

No man studied political propaganda more closely than Goebbels, and no man used it to greater effect. So far as the war period was concerned, he had one great weakness—he could not understand the mind of his enemy, and that has always been a weakness of the German nation.

No propagandist can ever hope to succeed if he fails to understand, not only the minds, but the habits, the

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hopes and the fears of those to whom he is directing his appeal. Goebbels succeeded at home for exactly the reasons that he failed abroad.

In his diaries, recently published, we find this entry:

‘In the evening I had a long talk with my mother who to me always represents the voice of the people . . . Propaganda must therefore always be essentially simple and repetitive. In the long run basic results in influencing public opinion will be achieved only by the man who is able to reduce problems to the simplest terms and who has the courage to keep forever repeating them in this simplified form despite the objections of the intellectuals.’

That really sums it up, and the lesson is as applicable to democracy as it is to a totalitarian society. There is, however, this difference in attitude, which is very important, and it is brought out even more clearly by that great ‘democrat’, G. Dimitrov, who, because he was the subject of Nazi persecution, attained enormous stature.

‘It must be borne in mind that the broad masses cannot assimilate *our decisions* unless we learn to speak the language which the masses understand.’

There, in bold black and white—with my italics—is the totalitarian attitude on the subject of government. It is one which is totally unacceptable to a democracy, and any propaganda based on that approach would fail. Democratic propaganda must always assume the competence of the people—not *the masses*—to be parties to any decision. Any democratic government that did not assume this would find that the people would soon become parties to the decision to kick it out.

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The doctrine of simplicity, repetition and formulation is, however, completely sound. Political propaganda must never be abstruse, it must never be dispersed in its approach to any subject, and it must, above all, formulate.

Disraeli laid down, in the last century, three principles on which the Tory Party should build:

1. Defence of our institutions.
2. Development of the Empire.
3. Improvement of the conditions of the people.

They have never been forgotten.

The Socialist Party summed up the main plank in its platform in a single word, ‘Nationalisation’. It became a rallying cry with thousands of people who never understood its implication, much less its mechanics.

‘All Power to the Soviets’, ‘Ein Reich, Ein Volk, Ein Führer’, ‘Peace, Retrenchment and Reform’, ‘Liberté, Fraternité, Egalité’—the recitation can go on and on. The point is made.

Josef Stalin has made it, too, in forceful language:

‘Proper orders, slogans, or appeals to the troops are as important to the success of the war as first-class heavy artillery or first-class tanks. Still more important are slogans in the political sphere where one has to deal with vast numbers of the population with their various demands and requirements . . . A slogan is a brief and clear formulation of the aims of the struggle.’

Formulate, formulate, and again formulate.

The main lessons of totalitarian propaganda are these:

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- FIRST The object, whether it be long or short term, must be clearly defined—and there must be no deviation from it.
- SECOND The appeal must be direct and it must be an emotional rather than an intellectual appeal.
- THIRD Language must be simple and therefore easily understood.
- FOURTH Pronouncements of any kind must be clearly formulated and repeated over and over again.
- FIFTH The enemy must be studied and every advantage taken of his weaknesses.
- SIXTH Propaganda and political organisation must always go hand in hand.

All of these are applicable to democratic propaganda, the points of difference being the object, the way in which it is put over, and the nature of the political organisation.

The internal propaganda of democracy consists of the competing propaganda of political parties—in our case the Conservative, Socialist and Liberal parties. Its object is in all cases to convert people to one political point of view and to prevent them from subscribing to any other.

This is potentially a source both of strength and weakness. It is a source of strength in that it enables men and women in the words of Professor Doob to 'puncture the lies in the "truths" which they accept and appreciate the "truths" in the lies which they reject'. Competing propaganda is the great enemy of the 'one-party' régime and of all one-way political traffic. That is the fundamental justification of political propaganda in a democracy—it debunks the secretive and the autocratic, and it exposes the political failings

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and weaknesses of its opponents, even if it does exaggerate them. There is, however, no smoke without fire. The knowledge that mistakes, miscalculations and misdemeanours will be shown up by the other side is a salutary curb upon democratic politicians.

The weakness of this system is only apparent when it is operating collectively against totalitarian propaganda. The solid unity of the latter, although in no way desirable under conditions of peace, is bound to have the advantage over the divided counsels of its opponent. All the principles of domination, concentration and repetition are brought into play with a vengeance. Furthermore, the totalitarians, having always acknowledged propaganda as a political weapon of the highest importance, have it in their blood. The democracies are still undergoing a course of injection, and they do not always 'react'. The main weaknesses of democratic political propaganda lie in its association with political policy and political organisation and also in its own presentation.

Political propaganda does not consist of a haphazard production of leaflets and posters whenever someone somewhere, sometime, has an idea. It is not an impulsive, sporadic activity. It must be as scientifically planned and executed as the advertising of any great commercial organisation, and it must be related to policy in the same way as commercial advertising is related to the product.

The advertising slogan, 'Advertised Goods Must be Good', is particularly relevant to political policies, which are open to far more violent counter-attack than any advertised product. Propaganda that has no policy

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to sell had better be silent—propaganda that has only a bad policy to sell will eventually end in explosive reaction and possibly violence.

Those responsible for the planning of propaganda must be in the close confidence of those responsible for planning policy. The astonishing thing is that this is not always the case. Propaganda is still being treated as a separate activity and those responsible for it are called in only as and when necessary. A case recently occurred of a propaganda, or, more politely, publicity, committee asking for a directive from the policy-making organisation of an important political party. The reply came back that the policy-making organisation was awaiting a directive from the publicity committee—‘Round and round the mulberry bush’. Such an absurd situation could never arise if policy and propaganda were kept in their proper relationship.

Propaganda must reflect policy—and it must often ‘project’ it—that is to say it must prepare the ground for policy announcements in order to ensure that they receive a favourable reception. It must never dictate policy, nor must it operate independently of it.

Similarly, propaganda must be part of the political organisation linked with it from the top to the bottom. Propaganda without organisation is like advertising without a sales force.

It must now be clear that whereas every member of a political organisation is a potential propagandist for that organisation, there must be a highly organised and efficient core of professional propagandists.

At their head must be a propaganda chief standing shoulder to shoulder with the highest in the party.

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He must be of a stature that will enable him to speak firmly and authoritatively at the most important councils of the party. He must, however, be self-effacing—while he organises the limelight he must not appear in it himself. He must censor his own photograph.

The reasons for this are obvious. If the instruments of propaganda are to be in the hands of the propaganda chief he must subordinate his own personality to the personality of the party, otherwise he will rightly be suspect of using the party propaganda machinery for his own ends. Once that happens he will forfeit the confidence of the party leaders and he will be useless.

Anonymity and impersonality are the great qualities required of the political propagandist. In his hands must rest the building of the personalities of the party leaders and the portrayal of the character of the party to the people. It is the most intricate but the most fascinating task imaginable. He must have the sensitivity of a prima donna and the hide of a rhinoceros—a difficult but necessary combination.

Remembering always the great lesson that there must be no statement without communication, the propaganda chief must ensure that all party propaganda ‘clicks’. He can only do this if he himself understands perfectly, not only all the methods of propaganda, but also the people to whom that propaganda is addressed.

Generally speaking, the duties of the propaganda chief fall under three heads—he must interpret and formulate party policy in language understood by the

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people, he must ensure that all major party propaganda is designed in the most professional way, and finally, he must direct the method of its presentation. This last task demands a close and intimate contact with the Press and the most effective use of all the instruments of propaganda.

Even if he is successful in all these roles the party's propaganda will still fail if it lacks human communication. This will come from the sawdust of the pubs, the orange peel of football crowds; it will be generated in the canteens, in the heat of the furnaces, and in the cold morning light of the early shift. It must echo with the laughter of the holiday camps, it must bowl along the hot summer roads with the cycling clubs, it must wear funny hats in the charabancs. It must shout with the 'Hampden roar', it must feel the cup-tie fever of Wembley, it must glitter with the lights of Blackpool.

The power of propaganda lies in the hearts and emotions of the ordinary people. It cannot be wielded from the Berkeley Buttery, nor in the select quarters of 'the 400'. However chromium-plated and thickly carpeted may be the office of the propagandist—and it is well that his office should not look like a station convenience—he must be capable of wearing an old mackintosh, of sucking an orange—and of spitting out the pips into the bargain. He must play darts in the pub and jostle his way to Highbury, and he must not think that the Wembley Lions are to be found at the Zoo.

The propagandist must talk the language, not with affectation, but simply and naturally.

The propaganda chief is therefore not some party

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political executive who has failed at everything else and been finally set aside to ‘do the posters’, nor is he a failed business man or superannuated journalist. His qualifications are highly specialised and his experience must be intense and varied.

He must, of course, work at the centre of the party organisation, and he must be reflected at lower levels in the scale by men of similar qualities, training and outlook. At constituency level the political agent must have been given a thorough training in political propaganda, and he must be supported by a propaganda committee composed of voluntary members qualified to deal with the subject.

All this is demanding a great deal of a political party, but it is by no means demanding too much. The opponents of the democratic parties would regard it as a minimum standard requirement.

By far the most important requirement is, however, that the political party should believe in propaganda as a political weapon, and so encourage all its members to study and to practise it. Unless this is the case no really effective propaganda, however well conceived, can be forthcoming, because there will be no ‘point of sale’ activity.

Just as in the sphere of commercial activity, advertising sensitises the public mind in order that it may provide a positive reaction to the efforts of the salesman, so the propaganda organisation sensitises it so that it reacts positively to the activities of the political candidates, workers and canvassers.

Mr. A. J. Mackenzie has said, ‘Propaganda is a science, but not in the sense that its entire technique

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is capable of precise formulation. Its sphere of activity is wide and vague, even less chartered than the social sciences. It deals with the reaction of minds to events, and in both these constituents the variable factors far outnumber the constants. At the same time the propagandist works, keeping in mind certain broad principles, and in proportion as he applies these to the problem or ignores them he will meet with greater success.'

This is a wise pronouncement to bear in mind when considering the operation of political propaganda. Goebbels went further. He stated: 'Propaganda in itself has no fundamental method, it has only purpose—the conquest of the masses.' That statement applied to democracy is nonsense; it only takes on meaning when one remembers that Nazi propaganda had a gun in its hip pocket and a rubber truncheon in its hand.

Mackenzie wrote his observation before the war, and he might well be prepared to admit to-day that the last years have contributed to some considerable degree to the charting of the sphere of propaganda.

In a short thesis I wrote in 1947 entitled *Talk of Propaganda*, I expressed the view that the principles of advertising—domination, concentration and repetition—applied equally to political propaganda. I also added that political propaganda was a science which had something in common with military science—it was therefore possible to define rules for strategy and tactics in political propaganda. I have since seen no reason to depart from this view nor to amend the rules that I then laid down. Theme, presentation, co-ordin-

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ation and disposition govern propaganda strategy, while the four essentials to be studied in propaganda tactics are direction, timing, vitality and colour.

The theme of a propaganda campaign must be directly related to policy, it must be simple and therefore easily presented, easily understood, and it must communicate. It follows from this that there must be essentially a positive policy with which propaganda is concerned. We are not for the moment involved in counter-propaganda and subversive propaganda, which we will consider in due course.

The lesson of the recent Truman *v.* Dewey election in the United States, and one of the lessons of the 1945 Election in this country, was that people want to know the policy to which they are being committed.

There is a school of thought that holds that people in the main do not vote *for* anyone, but *against* that person’s opponent. I do not agree with this view, but it is so widely held by those who ought to know what they are talking about that it cannot be dismissed out of hand. It is true that under conditions of violence, when the tide of hate is flowing strongly, that destructive and negative force is the most powerful influence. Although the madly daring slogan, ‘All power to the Soviets’, had considerable influence on the more thinking of the Russian revolutionaries, it was the hatred of the Romanov régime and all that it stood for that impelled the masses. But that was only a passing phase. Consolidation was needed afterwards, and ‘All power to the Soviets’ represented that consolidation.

It is true, too, that propaganda for the *status quo*

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is more difficult to put over than propaganda for change. The 'agin-the-government' spirit is always present somewhere in varying degrees of strength, and it is not difficult to mobilise. The astute propagandist for the *status quo* must never admit to a defensive role. Whatever action is taken must always be represented as a positive advance and an attack upon the attackers.

Under normal conditions it is no longer sensible to believe that a negative tide can be relied on to sweep governments away, nor is it at all desirable that any political party should have a policy that was merely a collection of direct negatives of the points of its opponent's policy. Such a party might under certain circumstances win an election, but it would be unlikely that it would subsequently be competent to govern.

Such is the nature of public understanding, that a policy having been clearly stated, will have to be stated over and over again before it is understood or accepted. This means that it is worse than useless to wait till the eve of an election contest before coming out with a set policy. If this is done it will give the impression that the whole thing is just a contraption for vote-catching. Furthermore, there will be inadequate time in which to put it over to the vast non-political element that decide elections under British democracy.

Gone are the days when elections could be won by last-minute scares and stunts, and it would be a disgrace to democracy if they could.

It is, of course, absolutely reasonable to argue that detailed political programmes cannot be produced

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until close to the time of an election in view of the fact that conditions change and issues alter. A policy is by no means subject to such considerations, being much broader in scope and longer in range of conception.

A party without a policy may be going anywhere, and people like to know where they are going and who is going with them. It is, moreover, quite impossible to conduct positive propaganda without a positive policy on which to base it. Propaganda without policy is like advertising without a product or a central idea.

If a clear policy has been thoroughly and consistently put over, then the detailed programme will fall logically into place and will find acceptance readily at the hands of those who have already accepted the policy. Propaganda for policy projects the ensuing programme based on that policy.

This emphasises the importance of ‘formulation’ to which reference has already been made. The theme of a campaign must be capable of easy formulation. This is the slogan principle, and the slogan as Stalin has said is ‘a brief and clear formulation of the aims of the struggle’. How the formulation is effected depends entirely on the nature of the struggle.

A perfect example of the work of formulation has been provided by the left wing propagandists who have given Karl Marx and the contents of the Little Lenin Library to the people in a form that they can understand—no mean task. Goebbels undoubtedly experienced similar difficulties with *Mein Kampf*. The Conservative propagandists of to-day have no such problem with Mr. Churchill, whereas the Socialists

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are faced with the embarrassing fact that the unorthodoxy of Mr. Aneurin Bevan and Mr. Emanuel Shinwell is so much better pronounced than the homilies of the orthodox leaders—Mr. Herbert Morrison always excepted. It is almost impossible to remember what any Liberal has said since 1945—which is sad, because they have said so much so differently.

Not only must the theme of a propaganda campaign be formulated in such a way that it is easily presented, but it must also take into very close consideration the hopes and fears of those to whom it is directed. It is the old Keith Prowse formula, '*You want the best seats, We have them.*' There is a danger here that a theme may become merely a pandering appeal to public desires. Churchill has proved for all time that there are occasions when such appeals are the reverse of what is required. It is, in fact, probable that the time is coming when 'blood, toil, tears and sweat' may be more convincing than sugar and spice that no one can digest, or which is not available.

Nevertheless a propaganda campaign that does not communicate is a waste of time and effort. The Conservative Party once launched a campaign, 'Thinking of the Future'. It was directed to the very definite anxiety of people looking ahead, both on their own accounts and on account of their children. It showed a man and his son, a woman and her two children, an ordinary male worker, and two young people. It was a human and personal appeal and as such a great improvement on the bare and impersonal call of such things as signposts announcing 'Turn Right to the Tories'. Why anyone should do so on

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the strength of so dreary an exhortation is beyond all stretch of imagination.

The second principle of propaganda strategy is that the theme should be soundly and effectively presented—through all the propaganda media available. Goebbels stated:

‘Modern propaganda is based largely on the effect of the spoken word—Revolutionary movements are not the work of great writers, but of great orators.’

That is substantially true although the influence of the written word is unquestionably greater in the more enlightened and thinking countries than under totalitarian régimes

It is interesting to note some instructions to speakers issued by the Nazis, and one assumes under the auspices of the Goebbels organisation:

‘Do not speak too often in one place.’

‘Every speech must first be written. It should, however, give the impression of being spontaneous and not seem too studied, otherwise the confidence of the audience might be shaken.’

‘All speeches must strike a popular note and never create an intellectual atmosphere.’

‘The title of a speech must be pungent, brief and whisperable as a slogan.’ [*NOT ‘Current Politics’—the refuge of the politically destitute—my comment.*]

‘Make your speeches as if you were addressing each member of your audience separately. The listener should have the feeling “there stands a man who seems to read my very thoughts and put them into words”.’

‘Never attack whole professions or occupations.’

‘The real art of oratory must be defined as the capacity to evoke emotion.’

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There is very little there to which any speaker could take grave exception. There is a tendency to over-stress the appeal to the emotions. At the same time far too many speakers make the cardinal error of failing to do this altogether.

The most important direction which no propagandist—and every speaker is a propagandist for his cause—must ever forget: ‘The listener should have the feeling “There stands a man who seems to read my very thoughts and put them into words”.’

That is what Huxley infers when he says: ‘The propagandist is a man who canalises an already existing stream. In a land where there is no water he digs in vain.’

People are in fact convinced, not so much by other people’s arguments, but by their own arguments. What Huxley does not add is that people appropriate arguments that are repeated to them often enough either in the same or in similar ways. Propaganda that projects policy aims exactly to do this. The result is that a great audience that has been prepared for the occasion hear what they consider to be their own arguments retailed to them by the speaker. This communication of ideas is flattering to them, and they applaud the flattery as much as, in fact more than, the speaker. The height of success is achieved when the speaker so formulates the common argument that it is repeated from mouth to mouth, and through all the media of propaganda. It is this aspect of oratory that justifies Goebbels view that:

‘It is a mistake to assume that the written word is more effective because it reaches through the daily paper a wider

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public. Though an orator in most cases can reach only some thousands of listeners, whereas the writer succeeds in reaching some tens of thousands of readers, the spoken word influences not only those in the immediate audience, but is disseminated by word of mouth a hundredfold and sometimes a thousandfold.’

Agreed, but the orator must use such phrases as are repeatable in this way. The really great orator understands this technique. It is the duty of the professional propagandist to advise the rest.

Design in a speech is as essential as design in sculpture, painting, or music, but the number of speeches that are made which have no sort of form is quite astonishing. Such speeches are an insult to the audiences to which they are delivered, and they are quite useless as instruments of propaganda because not one word contained in them will be remembered.

Design is similarly important in all political posters and literature, from the simplest announcements to the more complex documents. We have already noted in another connection the value of ‘handwriting’ as a testimony to character. This applies in even greater degree to political propaganda.

Bad design is damaging, not only because it renders the work less legible, but because it gives a bad impression, and impressions count in politics.

Nevertheless, there are still political organisations which are prepared to leave poster design and the production of leaflets to hack artists, back-street printers, and sometimes even to the office boy if it is Saturday afternoon and no one else can be prevailed upon to get the job done.

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The principles that apply to good poster design in advertising apply equally to all political posters. After all, Mr. Jones, who buys a Gillette razor blade, or Mrs. Wilson, who buys a tin of Van Houten cocoa, or Miss Jamieson, who gets a Toni home perm, are the same people who are called on to vote for Conservatives or Socialists or for anyone else.

It is therefore horrifying to find posters selected for display as a result of a competition by the Puddlecombe Ward of Young Conservatives or the Tweezle-down True Blue Ladies Club. This amateur approach can only result in amateur results from all points of view. The propaganda battle is sternly professional, and amateur fun and games have no place in the contest.

A similar lack of appreciation of the importance of design is shown in the production of leaflets. The most common faults are cramming too much information on to one sheet, using what can only be described as filthy type, and disregarding all the elementary principles of layout. In fact, one often wonders if some of our political propagandists even know about layout and typography.

The most remarkable evidence to the contrary has been provided by the Labour Party in a production entitled 'Soldiers of Lead', which deserves the closest attention. The very title infers an appreciation of the subject which does credit to the authors. It is taken—as the first sentence of the booklet acknowledges—from a quotation by a seventeenth-century printer: 'With twenty-five soldiers I have conquered the world'. The key sentence to the whole booklet occurs on the

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first page: ‘If we would have our message read we must ensure that it is readable.’ How true, but like so many truths, how often overlooked, or worse still, deliberately ignored. The statement of the aims of the booklet is so important as a contribution to the production of political propaganda that I give it in detail with full acknowledgment to the Labour Party (*italics and comments are mine*).

‘It is to those who are concerned with Labour’s public relations work *and the printers concerned with the execution of that work* that this booklet is addressed. It has as its aims in the first place a degree of standardisation of typography (the creation of a Labour Party handwriting which will automatically communicate itself to the reader), in the second place the general raising of the quality of the movements pointing to those higher standards which are increasingly evident in all forms of publicity and book production, *and with which party literature has now actively to compete*. (No amateur competitions by little girls envisaged here.) At the same time the advice, suggestions and rules which follow will be found to cover only certain aspects of good taste and legibility. Every printing job will pose its own problems and these will only be overcome by an original and individual solution in each and every different case (once again the variables!) Those to whom this work may fall will soon discover that typography is neither a dry and academic subject nor yet a mechanical craft to be solved by rule of thumb, but a fascinating study which calls into play all one’s intellectual and aesthetic faculties and which can provide all the satisfaction of artistic creation.’

It is impossible to do anything other than to agree with every word and also with these two other extracts which are taken from ‘Soldiers of Lead’.

On type:

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'Type is a means to an end. It succeeds or fails in so far as it conveys its message clearly, easily and without strain.'

And this on layout:

'The subtleties of good layout are to be appreciated in full only after long experience, but its essentials are exceedingly simple to grasp. They may perhaps be summed up in two words—"logical simplicity". The first step is to go through the matter which has to be displayed with a fine tooth comb and ruthlessly eliminate everything which is not strictly relevant, anything which is not an essential part of the message you are trying to convey, and anything which is redundant. The more you can weed out, the more space you can allow your main title or slogan, the more powerful you can therefore make it. ". . . The objective is rapid and easy comprehension. To achieve this the layout must go hand in hand with the thought behind the words".'

There is only one final comment to be made on this publication. Its sub-title is 'An introduction to layout and typography for use in the Labour Party'. All other political parties will do well to ignore this restrictive practice and make use of much of it themselves. Technical excellence is not a one-party preserve—or at least it ought not to be.

It is, of course, just as essential in political propaganda as in advertising, or in any other similar sphere, that design should not become the master. Design must be treated functionally. The Liberal Party, with an admirable regard for typography and layout, produced an appeal a year or so back. The design dominated the matter to such a degree that the whole thing came to look like an advertising brochure for a printing firm with an incidental reference to politics. Just as commercial artists must not ignore the com-

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mercial aspect of their work, so those who are concerned with good layout and typography in political propaganda must not ignore their primary task. Propaganda cannot accept the slogan, ‘Art for Art’s sake’—it is Art for the sake of the Cause. A correct balance must, however, be struck, so that the integrity of both is maintained, otherwise this important alliance will break down.

It is by no means out of phase to think of propaganda in terms of military science. The military mind is trained to be exact and logical—these qualities the propagandist must have in full measure. The military mind is trained to assess tasks, to make appreciations, to allot resources, to plan campaigns, to write clear and decisive orders, and, finally, to win battles. All these things the propagandist must do.

Co-ordination and disposition are therefore the two other principles of political propaganda. It is the co-ordination of propaganda resources that makes them really effective, and there is nothing more wasteful and nothing more damaging than lack of co-ordination.

Co-ordination ensures that all the various media of propaganda, the speech, both from platform and over the radio, the newspaper handout and editorial, the poster, and party literature have the same story to tell. This is further confirmation of the necessity for a firm policy, because if there is not one doctrine then there will be many doctrines, and many doctrines make sound co-ordination of propaganda impossible, just as many doctrines in war make sound co-ordination of any campaign impossible. The result in both

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cases is defeat. 'If the trumpet hath an uncertain sound?'

Disposition, which is closely linked to co-ordination, looks after the allocation of propaganda resources. One must always recognise that there is a limit to basic resources, and if they are not disposed to the best advantage then they will be less effective. The planning of the disposition of resources must be worked out in close conjunction with the party organisation.

We must bear in mind the whole time the 'variable' nature of propaganda and the problem with which it is confronted. Whereas the principles of propaganda—domination, concentration and repetition—are to all purposes unassailable and the strategy is reasonably firm, the operation of propaganda depends on an alert and agile application of the tactics of propaganda which are by far the most fluid. At the same time they are by far the most crucial, because even if principles are observed, strategy carefully followed, weak tactics will completely wreck a campaign. This is inevitable, because tactics are concerned with propaganda 'on the ground', and it is 'on the ground' that propaganda either succeeds or fails, because it is there that it makes its personal contact.

All propaganda must be clearly and firmly directed. This must be the responsibility of the key-man at every level. At party headquarters it must be the propaganda chief acting in the closest liaison with the party leader. On a constituency level it ought always to be the man responsible for fighting the battle—namely, the candidate. As we have already noted, he should be assisted by his agent, who must have propa-

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ganda training, and a voluntary publicity committee. How the machinery of any party is designed at any level must depend very largely on the nature and composition of the party concerned. Whatever this mechanism, it is essential that there should not be a plethora of instructions from different sources, and an excited army of enthusiastic amateurs should be prevented from over-running the ground.

Timing of all propaganda activity is vital. The object of all propaganda tactics must be to gain and to retain the initiative. Failing this, the propaganda organisation must aim to neutralise every opposition blow and to retaliate with great rapidity. This requires a considerable degree of intelligent anticipation.

The key to success in timing is naturally enough the selection of the psychological moment, a particularly relevant expression in this sphere. What that moment is must depend on conditions which may or may not be controllable.

Propaganda must never be launched too early or else it may well misfire. In the case of a concerted campaign it may easily lead to the other side having time to retaliate even more effectively. It may also mean that the campaign reaches its climax prematurely, and that at the critical moment emotions have died down and the full result is not obtained. It is rather the same condition as applies to an over-trained boat-race crew or football team.

On the other hand, propaganda must never be launched too late. The time that it is liable to take to put across a policy or message must always be accounted for in any propaganda plan. Furthermore,

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the impression of slowness in any organisation is very damaging. Political activity is a contagious thing, and where there is little activity there will be little contagion.

No more futile example of mis-timed propaganda can be cited than the attempt by the Allies to divide the German nation from its leaders in 1939-40. The German people at that stage had every reason to be satisfied with their government. The war in Poland had been swift and spectacular and not particularly expensive. There was every reason to believe that such leadership would produce similar results in France—and of course it did. No wonder the German troops laughed at the pathetic little appeals fired over into the lines and dropped from aeroplanes—and all this at a time when there were all too few planes and an inadequate number of shells. Whoever planned that little pantomime should have been dropped instead of the pamphlets, or preferably fired in place of the shells.

The co-ordination of the various propaganda media, and in particular platform and radio speeches and Press releases, will ensure that they tell the same story. Timing ensures that they tell it at the right moment and to the best advantage.

It is, for instance, not the best example of timing to release an important document on the day before the Coronation and to give a Press conference for it at Hackney Wick at 4 p.m. serving tea. Apart from the fact that there will be no free space in the papers on Coronation Day, Hackney Wick is no place for a Press conference, and very few journalists care for tea.

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Saturday afternoon is a particularly good time for political speeches. They will be reported, assuming that there is anything in them worth reporting, in the Saturday evening papers, in the Sunday Press, and there may even be further references on Monday morning. Sunday papers have a deeper readership value than any other newspapers apart from magazines. That is an additional reason for releasing the more detailed type of political statement on a Saturday afternoon.

In areas where there is only a weekly local paper it is as well to see that the most important speech in a campaign is made as near to the press date as possible. This means that the speech is still reasonably hot news when it comes out. It also means that the opposition will have to wait a week before they can reply to it—by then their reply will tend to be stale.

All propaganda must be vital—it must live, it must reflect personality, otherwise it will not communicate. ‘You and I and We’ are far more important factors in propaganda than ‘He and It and They’. This brings us back to the fundamental desires which we discussed earlier on. It is the personal appeal to certain recognisable desires and needs that makes effective propaganda, and it is even more effective when it comes from a recognisable and personal source. It is true that the phrase, ‘It says so in the papers’, lends a certain degree of authority to any political story, but it is a far livelier and a warmer story when it is repeated at the bar by Tom Brown or Billy Wilson, or over a cup of tea by Mrs. Johnson.

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In politics this involves the building up of personalities and their identification with a cause, and it is imperative that both parts of this process should be completed. Merely to build up a political personality is to run the risk of subordinating the cause to that personality which in the long run is dangerous and leads to disaster. Over and against this a cause that has no personalities has no life and no personal appeal.

At all levels in the political set-up personalities must be developed and put across. Provided that there is nothing down-right offensive in a personality, this is comparatively easy to do. Even the most colourless individuals can be 'touched up' quite satisfactorily.

It is as well when doing this to select the right colour. There are some people who can be portrayed as forthright, tough, outspoken characters. There are others who are best regarded as quiet intellectuals—thinkers of the movement. It becomes a little embarrassing if the roles are reversed. For instance, it would be absurd to portray Sir Stafford Cripps in the colour of Mr. Churchill, or Mr. Anthony Eden in that of Mr. Aneurin Bevan, and I mean the colour personality rather than political colours.

There are one or two rules with regard to putting across personality which have to be observed. A great deal depends on whether the subject is photogenic or not. If he is then it is fairly safe to allow photographs to be taken freely. If he is not, then selected photographs must be issued to avoid too many horrific, glowering apparitions appearing in the Press. Mannerisms and gestures are interesting, provided they are

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pleasant or amusing ones—the Churchill ‘V sign’. Unusual clothes serve to identify and popularise personality, but it is important that they should not make the person concerned look ridiculous in any way. The wrong clothes can do infinite damage. It is only vouchsafed to a very few by nature of their personality or appearance to wear unusual clothes, but there is no excuse for anyone wearing the wrong clothes. Pearl necklaces, diamond tiaras, mink coats, and tails are not the outfit for a canvassing expedition in Jarrow.

Colour in propaganda is closely allied to vitality, for without vitality colour is of little value and, in fact, it may serve to underline the lack of vitality. Colour is really another word for stage management and all that it involves—good stage management of a meeting can double its value and effect, lack of stage management can turn it into a drab affair—worse still, a farce.

Just as timing in its sphere selects the psychological moment, colour ‘picks it out’. Few will forget the moment of the opening of the Olympic Games at Wembley in 1918 when the single white-clad figure carrying the torch entered the arena quite alone. Yet even that moment could have been enhanced if at the minute the flame leapt up the assembled trumpets had sounded a fanfare.

A meeting, efficiently stewarded with a platform nicely decorated, and, if possible, music before the proceedings begin, puts an audience in the right frame of mind. The entry of the candidate or the principal speaker should be arranged so that it creates a good impression and taps the enthusiasm. It can all be

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done so badly and so often is, and what an opportunity it presents for fun and games on the part of the opposition! The impression that a political party gives at its public meetings inevitably affects the attitude of the 'middle element' who are present and who have no fixed political convictions. If they found themselves at a 'musical comedy' performance, if the candidate is unable to get on to the stage because his female supporters are blocking the way, if the chairman speaks for twenty minutes about nothing at all, if there are interminable votes of thanks, and if at the end 'God Save the King' is sung on the wrong note, then the impression will hardly be 'This is my show, going my way'.

The correct use of colour prepares the mind and senses of an audience and makes it receptive. It creates atmosphere, and atmosphere assists reaction. A political meeting without reaction is a waste of time.

The principles, strategy and tactics which we have now briefly discussed, apply fully to direct propaganda and in varying degrees to the three other types of political propaganda, indirect, subversive, and counter propaganda.

Of these three, indirect is the most difficult to define, and consequently rules and practices cannot be laid down for it with any degree of finality. Indirect propaganda is propaganda that is carried by media that are not essentially concerned with propaganda. The propaganda message is therefore secondary, although no less effective for that. It is in a sense propaganda by inference.

The main methods by which indirect propaganda are conveyed are through books, plays and films, which are primarily books, plays and films, and secondly instruments of propaganda. This eliminates those which are produced with the express purpose of carrying a political propaganda message, such as the books, *Guilty Men* or *Our New Masters*.

Some remarkable indirect propaganda was contained in the film, ‘Fame is the Spur’, which was a very thinly veiled travesty of the life of Ramsay MacDonald. Many of the facts were correct, but the interpretation of them and the motives attributed to the politician were such as to create an unmistakable political impression in favour of Leftist opinion. But people went to see this film for its entertainment value and not for its political associations.

Indirect propaganda is most successful when it is subtle and when it is not recognisable as such.

The great power of the Fabian movement was exercised through its adherents, such as George Bernard Shaw, whose writing made its political appeal in an entirely indirect manner. Stealthily, cleverly, existing standards and the order of society were undermined, and strength was thereby given to the direct propaganda of the Labour movement with which the Fabians were both in sympathy and alliance.

A political movement, besides exercising direct propaganda, will do well to promote and encourage the cultural activities of those who are in sympathy with it. This is quite a different thing from controlling their activities in the way that the Nazis did in their time and the Communists have always done.

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Subversive propaganda is likely to become the most unprincipled and unscrupulous of all forms of propaganda. It has only one aim, to discredit the enemy and thereby to undermine his powers to persuade.

The chief weapons of subversive propaganda are the cartoon—which can, of course, be used in any of the forms of propaganda—the rumour and the whispering campaign.

No single man has done more to establish the cartoon as an instrument of propaganda in this country than Low. The test of the effective political cartoon is that it should need no caption. The creation of the fictitious but symbolical Colonel Blimp has given an invaluable ally to those who are the enemies of tradition. Incidentally, the incorporating of an attitude in a personality is a simple but clear expression of the importance of vitality in propaganda.

The cartoon is a formidable weapon because it speaks without words. It appeals through cynicism, ridicule, and through hate and fear, and it appeals instantly and indelibly.

The rumour and whispering campaign, which are the least creditable of all the instruments of propaganda because they have no creative dignity, are in a sense free-lance activities. They are poisoned bread upon the political waters. The gossip column is the forum in which they have the greatest play. When using these methods it is vitally necessary to exercise caution and restraint because it is very easy to go too far and so help the other side by generating sympathy. In this country in particular people like to win, but they also have a great sympathy with the loser, and

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if a man is handled too heavily he will eventually gain a certain support, even if he deserves none at all.

Counter-propaganda may well employ subversive propaganda as its ally—it is in itself the reply to direct propaganda, and its function is to offset and to answer the direct propaganda of the opponent. It depends enormously on clear foresight and accurate timing for its success. Sound counter-propaganda is essential to a democratic party in opposition to a government which, if it is alert, has the initiative in nine cases out of ten.

The exercise of counter-propaganda is hampered by shortage of newsprint under such circumstances because Government propaganda can nearly always be ranked as news, whereas Opposition counter-propaganda is only classed as ‘Views’. This is a fact that has not escaped the notice of the wily Mr. Herbert Morrison, who, for the same reason, has fought shy of commercial radio, which might well fall into the hands of Opposition propagandists.

The secret of really successful counter-propaganda is anticipating what the other side is going to say and announcing that they will, thereby damping the squib. In an election campaign it also depends on the ability to seize the last minute and to fill it full of sixty seconds worth of unanswerable barrage. Counter-propaganda is a tactical weapon, which depends on great agility of mind, a supremely alert and energetic organisation, and an unerring psychological judgment.

Enough has been written here to indicate that political propaganda is a complex process, ever

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developing and requiring constant and intensive study. It is not just a battle of posters and hand-bills.

The importance of the subject is now more generally realised by the political parties which officially subscribe to democratic principles—in this country the Conservatives, the Liberal and the Socialist. Of these the Socialist Party has been far the most assiduous and to a marked extent more successful than the other two. The reason for this is not difficult to understand. The Socialist Party is a Left Wing party with a great deal in common with its more extreme partner, the Communist Party. However much the moderate Socialists may attempt to deny this, it is quite obvious that their denials are prompted by expediency rather than by conviction.

The strength of Socialist propaganda is therefore being undermined by Communist propaganda. This constitutes a very serious menace to democracy in this country because it means that a considerable element who are under the impression that they are building a democratic society will soon find that they are pulling it down.

It remains, therefore, for those parties who are still untainted by any such associations to ensure that their political organisation, and in particular their propaganda machinery, is competent to deal with what may well prove to be the greatest attack ever launched upon democratic society in the history of our nation.

When one hears Sir Hartley Shawcross state: 'The Labour Government, along with other Social Democratic Movements in Europe, are the real bulwark

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against the spread of Communism’, one is reminded of Goebbels’ free admission: ‘We only made use of democratic means in order to gain power’. Goebbels was slightly more astute than Sir Hartley because he did not allow another department of his party to announce: ‘The Labour Party regards this statement of Marx and Engels (namely, the Communist Manifesto) as one of the great historical documents in Socialist history, which has had an immense influence on Socialism as it is expressed to-day in so many countries of the world.’

The Conservative Party has been quick to grasp the significance of this inconsistency of thought and to expose this disquieting state of affairs in a leaflet which is an example of counter-propaganda of the best sort. Counter-propaganda, because previous to this the Socialist Party had put it about that the surest way to produce a Communist Government was to elect a Conservative one.

The General Election of 1910 was encouraging in this respect. Conservative propaganda was superior to that of its opponents in every sphere. In view of the careful preparations made over the inter-election period by the Socialists this was most surprising.

The Socialist campaign never settled down. There was no constructive theme, there was no discernible pattern to the propaganda that was put out. The party manifesto was entitled ‘Let us win through together’, a good theme and a sound follow-up to ‘Let us face the future’. The sub-title of the manifesto also contained an excellent propaganda theme, ‘Labour puts the Nation first’. Yet neither was pressed

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home. Instead the party turned on the 'Fear' tactics, fear of unemployment and fear of a return to so-called 'Tory misrule'. This was a serious miscalculation of the mood of the electorate. It also suggested that there were divided counsels behind the Socialist scenes.

The Socialists failed outstandingly in two other spheres, in the battle of the air, and in the personal appeals by their candidates in their election addresses. The Socialist speakers over the radio were colourless and in the case of Mr. Bevin downright depressing. None of them appeared to realise that the people were waiting to be convinced; they wanted to hear reasoned arguments. Vilification of the other side and self-satisfied recitations of unconvincing party propaganda claims left them cold.

The carefully-prepared election addresses, although technically good, were impersonal. They were too obviously the product of a central machine, and central machines were going out of favour.

Finally the Socialist campaign as a whole broke too suddenly. There was no preparation. This was unforgivable in a party holding the political initiative. The reason was undoubtedly to be found in over-confidence. There was too much credence given in the Socialist ranks to the idea that Socialism was inevitable and that they had only to board the band-waggon and it would roll them happily along the path of unending success. They read too much into the political significance of 1915. That was a social revolution—but it was not necessarily a Socialist revolution. It is true that the bye-election record of

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the Socialist Government of 1945–50 was encouraging—but there was a certain amount of luck there in that death had largely intervened in the safer Socialist seats and the Government had been careful not to create any vacancies in unsafe ones.

Complacency, over-confidence and a complete failure to gauge the temper of the electorate led to the drastic reduction in the Socialist majority in the 1950 election.

Against this the Conservative party made a much braver showing. It set its house in order, overhauled its organisation and proceeded to launch a preliminary campaign in 1919 which paved the way for the final electoral battle of 1910. Behind this campaign lay the invaluable spade work contained in what were termed the ‘Charters’—the Industrial Charter, the Agricultural Charter, the Imperial Charter and the Charter for Wales. The contents of these were summed up in the policy document ‘The Right Road for Britain’. The mistakes of 1915 had been studied. The lessons had been learned. There was the basis upon which all Conservative party propaganda could be built up. Then when the election came the manifesto ‘This is the Road’ was issued and it was accepted because it was an affirmation in more precise terms of the views already expressed.

It is true that the Socialist party had produced a similar document to ‘The Right Road for Britain’ but it was never put over effectively in their ensuing propaganda. The Liberals having waited until the very last moment rushed out a manifesto which few had time to read and which fewer still believed.

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On the radio the Conservatives were the easy victors, Mr. Churchill, in his inimitable manner, Mr. Eden, with great statesmanship, and Dr. Charles Hill, the 'radio doctor', captured the audience. The success of the last was an example of the value of using a man who understood completely the technique of radio broadcasting. The Socialists tried the same game by using Mr. Priestley, but this was a failure because it was done too early on in the campaign and also because Mr. Priestley claimed to be 'non-party' whereas everyone knew that he was not. At least those who did not know were soon enlightened by Conservative propaganda. This attempted deception acted as a boomerang in so far as the Socialists and Mr. Priestley were concerned.

The Conservative campaign at the election was to all intents a carry on of the pre-election campaign and the main criticism of it is that it was too much the same. In view of the fact that the Conservatives had to be ready to fight a campaign any time from October 1919 onwards this was an understandable failing and as things turned out it was, it tended to strengthen the acceptability of the Conservative case. There was a recognisable hand-writing about the Conservative propaganda which gave it punch, it was a happy reversal of the state of affairs in 1915.

The Conservative election addresses were still crude in the main and it was apparent that the necessity for good layout and clean typography was still not appreciated to any extent. But this was not such a failing as the impersonality displayed by the

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productions of the other side. The answer clearly lies half-way between the two conceptions.

A great responsibility now rests upon the shoulders of the Conservative Party to defend and preserve democratic order in Great Britain. It must also go further and accept the full impact of the challenge of Communist propaganda from outside which is flowing in through the Socialist Party, through the Communist Party, and through those sources which have their communication with the headquarters of the Cominform.

Democracy will in fact be saved through propaganda, not destroyed by it. Internally, democratic propaganda, for which the Conservative Party must be responsible, must become twice as effective as all forms of Communist propaganda. Externally the Conservative Party must explore the best means of promoting democratic propaganda and counter-propaganda against Communism. That great and filthy red octopus must be struck—not at the end of its tentacles, but squarely in the centre of its slimy organism. For the time being the most important task is to cut off these tentacles which are endeavouring to grip our own democracy and those which seek to strangle our Commonwealth. In the event of the removal of the Socialist régime from power, then the whole machinery of the national propaganda can be used for the task. Until that time a shadow system must be developed within the party organisation.

The Communists are heavily armed and they have those qualities which are so valuable in battle, but which are socially most undesirable, iron discipline,

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and rigid unity. They have also a propaganda machine which is externally, as well as internally, most effective.

Against this our democratic society must be prepared to defend itself and to fight. It must therefore be armed with all the weapons of propaganda, and it must know how to use them. To-day we are at El Alamein—it is time we got moving on the road to Berlin.

CHAPTER 7

The Living Tether

IN FULL-BLOODED, HEROIC AND TYPICAL LANGUAGE Chesterton utters this exhortation:

'Tie in a living tether
The Prince, and priest and thrall.
Bind all our lives together,
Smite us and save us all.
In ire and exultation,
Aflame with faith and free,
Lift up a living nation
A single sword to Thee.'

That sums it up. That is the task with which we are confronted in fashioning a free democratic society. A living nation . . . aflame with faith and free . . . tied in a living tether; that is a formulation of the aims of the struggle which we have been studying in the previous chapters. The successful achievement of those aims is the object of the technique of persuasion.

It is easy enough to lift up a servile nation intoxicated with propaganda doctrine, or battered into shape by force, but a collection of free and living people will naturally tend to pursue various courses.

The technique of persuasion is the technique of persuading free people to conform to a pattern of life. And persuasion is the only possible means of combining freedom and order. That combination successfully achieved is not the solution to one of the over-riding problems of our time.

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It depends upon three fundamentals which we have already discussed in various aspects. The most important of those is faith. After faith comes leadership identified with that faith. Finally there is confidence engendered by both.

It is the function of persuasion to propagate faith, whether that faith is a religion, a political creed, or a sales story. Where there is no faith there can be no propagation and an attempt to persuade people to believe in nothing or in something that does not really exist is doomed to eventual failure. This observation may seem almost foolish in its simplicity, but the fact that the process has been tried on innumerable occasions is even more foolish.

The history of our civilisation has been one of conflicting faiths and 'isms' and consequently of conflicting propagandas. Where faiths have collapsed or have been destroyed by opposing faiths it has been due to inherent weaknesses and also to the failure of propaganda to hold the allegiance of the faithful. In some cases it has been due to the penetration of more effective opposing propaganda, and in a great many to lack of leadership and to the evaporation of confidence.

The root of all faith is a professed truth, which owing to the imperfections of human knowledge may turn out to be only a comparative truth or eventually a complete falsehood. The power of faith is exercised by those who are qualified by nature as leaders and are identified with that faith. The association of a personality with a faith is the strongest single factor in establishing the ascendancy of that faith, because it establishes human sympathy.

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The most formidable proof of this is the Christian Faith. Without the personality of Christ the doctrines of Christianity would unquestionably have collapsed before the onslaught of their opponents centuries ago. It is improbable that they would even have withstood Roman persecution. To the enemies of Christianity it is a source of continuous irritation, and not a little astonishment, that a single Man who died in agony on an execution hill should have swayed so vast a concourse for so long. The reason lies in the fact that the Christian Faith is based on truths which are not comparative, but absolute, and that the personality of Christ is above all other personality.

It would be very unwise to believe that Christians have had no cause for concern over the position of their faith in the past, and still more unwise to assume that they are immune from such concern to-day.

The late Archbishop of Canterbury, William Temple, one of the greatest Christian realists of all time, whose premature death was a disaster for the Church of England, realised that that Church was losing its hold over its followers and inspired the setting up of a Commission to 'survey the whole problem of modern evangelism'.

It was made clear in the report of that Commission, which appeared under the title 'Towards the Conversion of England', that one of the weaknesses of the Church lay in its failure to make use of modern methods of approach.

In the light of our own investigations the definition of Evangelism given in the report is of some relevance:

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‘To evangelise is so to present Jesus Christ in the power of the Holy Spirit that men shall come to put their trust in God through Him, to accept Him as their Saviour and serve Him as their King in the fellowship of His Church.’

The fact is that on innumerable occasions the Church has failed to present Jesus Christ. It has failed to communicate. It has tended to withdraw within its own walls and argue about abstruse theological problems leaving Jesus Christ to present Himself to the great mass of people outside unaided. It has assumed, like so many other great organisations, that its teaching has only to be supplied and it will automatically be demanded. The Church ~~in fact~~ suffers from too much growing inwards.

Another reason for the failure of the Church to communicate is the language that it uses and the tone in which it speaks. This does not refer to the great language of the Bible, but to the confused language of the pulpit and the sentimental drooling of so many hymns. And it does refer to the astonishing accent emanating from the pulpit which instantly alienates every robust person in the congregation. How wise are the Jesuits who ‘grill’ their would-be preachers and do not allow them to rush in with untrained and unrestrained ardour upon their defenceless flocks.

The personality of Christ and the language of His teaching has not been presented, but misrepresented, and consequently the Christian Faith has become associated with a leadership very much out of keeping with the character of the Man who died on Calvary. The faith is strong, the leadership is weak, and there

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is consequently no systematic building of that third essential quality—confidence.

Given faith and leadership, confidence is founded on a sure basis, but it is not enough to leave it at that. Confidence has to be built up and developed, because it is by no means a constant force—one day it is strong, another it is failing—it is like the health of a human being, it has to be watched.

Confidence is established and maintained through three main agents—the formation of opinion, the satisfaction of need, and the creation of a community of interest.

Walter Lippmann has remarked: 'The analyst of public opinion must begin then by recognising the triangular relationship between the scene of action, the human picture of the scene, and the human response to that picture working itself out upon the scene of action.'

Take a street accident. To the ordinary spectator it is a moment of excitement out of the ordinary run of daily occurrences. He may be horrified, sick, morbidly interested, or he may be so overcome that he faints at the sight. To the doctor it is a medical case. To the policeman an entry for his case book. To the breakdown man it will be a mechanical problem. Afterwards each person will describe it according to the picture in his head, and the picture in his head will depend on his own part in the affair, his own reactions, which in turn are governed by his own psychological make-up. The woman who has fainted will want to forget it. The man with the morbid imagination will describe the broken glass, the blood on the pavement

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and the screams of agony. The doctor will remember the medical aspect of the case, and the policeman the technical details of the crash. The breakdown man will be interested in the mechanical problem presented by the twisted axle or the broken steering column.

Those who would form and control public opinion must be constantly aware of these variations in reaction. It is a very dangerous thing to plan any action without a full appreciation of the effect of that action on others. Far too many people plan actions having regard only to the effect that they will have on themselves. This fatal introversion, upon which we have continuously remarked, is what destroys faiths, leaders and organisations. It is too often the result of supreme egotism, the blind assumption that what is good enough for oneself is good enough for everyone else.

This does not mean that faiths must be compromised to suit the susceptibilities of their adherents or that leaders should be all things to all men. It means that man's perception of any one action or occurrence varies, and that in order to balance this and to obtain a constant reaction the powers of suggestion must be used.

Present conditions have resulted in an increase in the powers of men's perception. The powers of suggestion have to be strengthened, and used in a more skilled and professional manner in order to deal with this new awareness.

To a certain extent this has meant that the appeal to man's intellect as opposed to his emotion has had

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to be increased. It would, however, be very dangerous to believe that a purely intellectual approach is all that is required. That is an opinion harboured by 'nut-eating' intellectuals. The warm blood of emotion coursing vigorously through the body of society is more powerful to save and to destroy than the ice-cold calculation of the intellect.

It is true that the influence of 'cells' of intellectual force is very considerable and any organisation is without them will fail. Such 'cells' are, however, more concerned with the generation of power and persuasion, they bring the masses to order and not to the organised.

It is essential that the intellectual should be more concerned with the masses and not with the intellectuals. That is the secret of success in forming public opinion, and it comes from a sound analysis of the masses' reactions.

A very considerable attempt has been made in recent years to analyse reactions in nearly every sphere of human activity. It has not with varying success, and not the least of all the lessons learned is the high degree of unpredictability that is encountered.

The American Presidential Election of 1912 must rank as a spectacular example of this. Never was anyone more firmly lulled into a sense of false security and confidence by all the prophets than the Republican contender, Thomas E. Dewey. Every single indication was for him—to such an extent that advance copies of extremely reputable papers were prepared bearing his photo as the new President-elect.

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There is considerable evidence that Mr. Dewey and his party allowed themselves to be led away by this wave of miscalculation. They tended to state views, rather than to communicate opinions, and the views they stated were not necessarily of the sort that inspired confidence.

In order to form public opinion it is necessary to plant the seed of opinion unobtrusively in the right place at the right time. It has then to be watered and nourished so that at the psychological moment it bears fruit. The important thing is that, irrespective of the origin of the seed, the fruit must appear to be fruit of the individual mind concerned. Men are entitled to their own opinions, and if they are made to feel that such opinions have been planted on them they will renounce them. Mr. Dewey's mistake was that he tried to plant fruit instead of seeds. Mr. Roosevelt would never have made such a mistake.

Persuasion is concerned with all men's needs and desires because men's needs govern their actions. Those who would exercise persuasion must study those needs continuously. While there are certain basic needs and desires, such as hunger, thirst, sex, ambition, the emphasis changes according to conditions. If there is a drought thirst becomes the prime need. If there is devastation, then there is need for shelter. When men are frustrated they require satisfaction of the desires that are frustrated. After a war men want peace and the comforts of home life. After fifty years of calm and security men want adventure.

Persuasion depends not only on the analysis of men's needs at any one time, but on knowing where to lay

the emphasis. When a nation wants change the political party that offers them the *status quo* will fail. It is, however, important to remember that whether a nation will want or not want change will depend on the powers of persuasion of the strongest force within the nation.

There are, therefore, natural needs, based on men's organic requirements and created needs, which have their origin in men's desires. The difference between a need and a desire is that the one is essential while the other is not. Without food, drink and shelter a man will eventually die. Without the satisfaction of ambition men will become frustrated. Without recreation they will become tired, without colour and amusement they will become dull, without incentive they will become lazy.

Natural needs cannot be resisted or ignored. Created needs can, as their definition suggests, be directed. It is the direction of created needs—and, in fact, the creation of those needs themselves—that builds up the strength of confidence.

The most serious situation arises when natural needs cannot be satisfied. The result is inevitably the collapse of the social order and, under the worst conditions, the extinction of the whole community.

A situation which is hardly less serious from a moral point of view arises when created needs remain unsatisfied. It is then that the masses despair and nihilism triumphs. The victory of nihilism marks the end of men's confidence in themselves and in any constructive order.

The establishment of community of interest amongst

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men is the great bulwark against nihilism and despondency for the simple reason that it satisfies their gregariousness—and man is essentially a herd animal.

Hearnshaw, as we saw at the beginning of our study, has very rightly defined the three main components of nationality as past tradition, present interests and future aspirations. They are, in fact, the basis of any great community of interests, whether it is a political party, a great business organisation, or the supporters of a football team.

We have done it this way in the past, we like to do it this way now, and we are determined to go on doing it this way in the future. There is a wealth of assurance in that feeling—and assurance builds confidence.

Men must therefore be encouraged to display their solidarity so that it becomes infectious. For this purpose past tradition must be enshrined in ceremonial, present interest evinced in the wearing of a common emblem, and future aspiration declared in the definition of a common creed.

Therewith lies the secret of the attraction of processions and of high solemnities. Therein lies also the reason why people fly pennants from their cars and bicycles with 'Wembley Speedway' written on them and why they wear badges in their buttonholes declaring them to be members of a Trade Union.

The establishment of confidence depends on this three-fold process. Firstly, the opinion of people on all major issues must be formed and controlled; secondly, their essential needs must be met, and wherever possible, additional desires stimulated and satisfied. Thirdly, they must be held together through

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an appeal to past traditions, present interests and future aspirations.

Faith. Leadership. Confidence.

These are the three fundamentals upon which the technique of persuasion is based. If any one of them is absent, or is in any way unsound, then the successful operation of that technique is imperilled.

Faith in its highest interpretation is a spiritual belief, in its lowest merely a material conviction. But in each case it must be based upon truth. Persuasion is the interpreter of faith. It makes it common to the multitude and in so doing it formulates it in plain and simple language.

For this purpose it must use all the instruments which play upon the intellect and emotions of men. It must speak with the voice of the orator in repeatable phases. It must write with the pen of the accomplished scribe, not only great prose, but also gripping journalese. It must be both poet and singer. It must be musician and artist. It must be producer, director and stage manager.

From it all will emerge clear as a hymn upon silver trumpets one great credo, dominant and resounding, repeated over and over again.

Persuasion is the great 'impresario' of personality. It must establish that essential contact between the leader and his followers. It must bring up the highlights in his character and shade the wrinkles. It must identify him as the high priest of the faith. It must establish in him the qualities that men regard and like to think that they themselves possess.

Persuasion is the organic stream that vitalises a free

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society. It is the only effective alternative to the machinery of force. Studying the minds and emotions of men it influences them to follow the pattern of the faith and to accept the leadership which is the practical expression of that faith. In the free society both faith and leadership are the product of the thought and action of the community. It is in totalitarian societies that persuasion is used to inject faith and to operate as a subordinary instrument to force. In that capacity it is prostituted, but unfortunately no less effective.

Persuasion, rightly exerted, floods in upon men's lives, welding them together in confidence as a community, giving them faith, making them happy in the guidance of their leaders, and able to say with conviction:

'WE KNOW WHERE WE'RE GOING
AND WE KNOW WHO'S GOING WITH US.'